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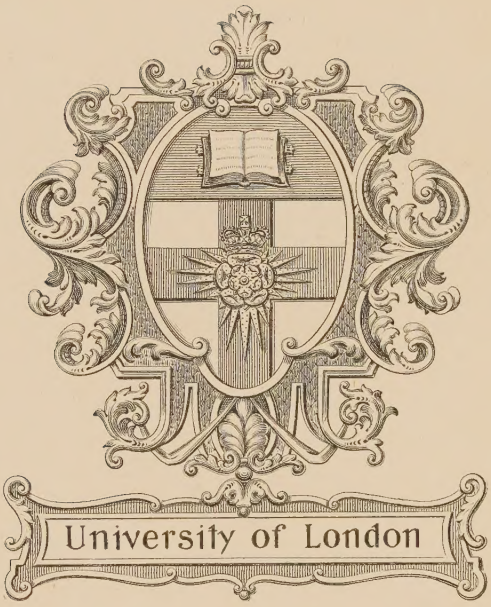

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THE REFUSAL OF DIVINE HONOURS

An Augustan Formula

I

In the worship of the Roman Emperors there were at the beginning at least two elements that stood in sharp contrast to each other. The Greeks had been accustomed for some three centuries to the rule of hereditary *Basileis*; a *basileus* during his lifetime was often entitled θεός and honoured as such, and this title and honour sometimes continued after death.[1] In Rome the attitude towards an Emperor was different: strictly speaking there was at first no such thing as an 'Emperor,' but merely a citizen entrusted with great powers; writers of the imperial age are never weary of pouring scorn upon 'mores regii,' on the evils of a court and of despotic rule. Neither by tradition nor by education were Romans favourably disposed towards worship of a living man as a god. True, they were accustomed to the notion that every man had a *genius*, and the *genius* was entitled to sacrifice on that man's birthday; even so, the *genius* was hardly 'a god,' save in so far as men were liable to think of it as if it were that fundamentally different thing δαίμων. The deification of Julius Caesar after his death gave a practical application, however, to a principle which had found acceptance by the middle of the first century B.C. that a life devoted to the service of the State entitled the liver, after death, to be enrolled among the ranks of the gods. The Senate, as the body that decided questions of religion and cult, had duly inscribed Caesar on the list of the gods, and so Divus Iulius took his place in the Roman Pantheon. Still, though a dead man might be deified by the State, Roman sentiment and tradition were against the deification of a living man, however great and powerful; by which I mean that, though writers might express themselves in flattering terms about a ruler, and though private citizens might begin domestic and unauthorised cults, there would be no public and state-recognised worship of him. But from 30 B.C. the position of Augustus was unexampled; no Roman had ever held such power. Now, though Augustus chose, wisely,

[1] A recent, and admirable, study of the Hellenistic King-Cult is that of U. Wilcken, 'Zur Entstehung des hellenistischen Königskultes,' in *Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad.* (*Ph.-hist. Kl.*), 1938, p. 298. I need only refer here to the various studies by Prof. Nock and Prof. L. R. Taylor and Prof. K. Scott upon Roman Ruler-Cult, to which my debt must be evident.

to abide by Roman custom and tradition and never countenanced officially any worship of himself alone—indeed, he even had images of himself in various parts of the city (which might have become objects of cult from enthusiasts) melted down and transformed into statues for dedication to Apollo—he might be placed in a quandary should he receive a request from Greeks asking him to authorise a cult of himself. For such a request was true to Greek custom and tradition, and it would be impolitic to refuse outright. What Augustus did we know from a passage in Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 52; he allowed worship of himself only if it were in conjunction with that of Rome. Of what he said we have no record. Yet we may be sure that a man at once so astute and considerate as Augustus, so tactful and understanding, would never have been guilty of a brusque refusal; while expressing his gratitude and pleasure at the offer, he would have declined gracefully and with reasons, reasons, too, that would be in the Greek tradition as well as suitable for home consumption. Unfortunately we do not possess (as far as I know) any such document. But we may be able to reconstruct the 'formula' that Augustus devised from an examination of some pronouncements that have survived, and such an examination should prove instructive.

II

We start with Augustus' successor, Tiberius. The literary sources for his reign depict him as one who was most anxious to tread closely in the footsteps of his divine father, and as 'validus spernendis honoribus.' Thus while he countenanced the erection of a joint temple to himself, Livia and the Senate (Tacitus *Ann.* IV, 15), he would not allow the province of Hispania Ulterior to dedicate a temple to himself and Livia (*Ann.* IV, 37, 38). On this occasion Tacitus puts into his mouth a noble speech: 'ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo . . . haec mihi in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae.' This evidence for his attitude is borne out by Suetonius, *Tib.* 26. Within recent years an inscription from Gytheum has brought corroboration to our literary sources.[2] It contains practically complete a letter from Tiberius, datable with fair certainty to A.D. 15, replying to proposals made by the town of Gytheum 'εἰς εὐσέβειαν μὲν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς τιμὴν δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν'. It is a reasonable

[2] The letter of Tiberius to Gytheum was first published by S. Kougéas, in Ἑλληνικά, I, 1928, p. 7 and p. 152. Several articles contain a reproduction of the text, *e.g.*, M. Rostovtseff in *Rev. Hist.* CLXIII, 1930, p. 1, E. Kornemann, *Neue Dokumente zum Lakonischen Kaiserkult*, Breslau, 1929, H. Seyrig in *Rev. Arch.* (*ser. V*) XXIX, 1929, p. 84, and L. Wenger in *Zeits. d. Savigny-Stiftung, Roman. Abt.* XLIX, 1929, p. 308.

conjecture, supported by all scholars, that the town had, in some form, offered Tiberius divine honours (ἰσόθεοι τιμαί).

To this Tiberius replied as follows: 'ἐφ' οἷς ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶν προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ κοινῇ πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίᾳ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἐξαιρέτους φυλάσσειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς θεοῖς πρεπούσας τιμάς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρκοῦμαι ταῖς μετριωτέραις τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείοις.' At first sight the answer lacks precision: indeed Rostovtseff compares it unfavourably with the detailed and careful response that Claudius gave to the Alexandrians (see p. 4). Tiberius thanks the people of Gytheum and does not say 'No' directly: what ruler could, without being offensive? He points out clearly, however, that τὰς θεοῖς πρεπούσας τιμάς should be reserved *par excellence* (ἐξαιρέτους) for his father Augustus, because of his overwhelming benefits to the whole world, but professes that he is content with more modest honours such as may be given to a man; 'ego me mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi . . . et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo' could well develop out of this. Implicitly Tiberius does refuse τὰς θεοῖς πρεπούσας τιμάς. And we may conclude that his attitude did have its effect. Doubtless there were many private offerings, or dedications by distant towns, to Tiberius as θεὸς; it was unavoidable.[3] But we happen to possess two public dedications made to commemorate a solemn occasion, (the delivery of Rome from the conspiracy of Sejanus in A.D. 31), one by the town of Interamna and the other by a governor of Crete.[4] Here the dedication is not to the god Tiberius, but to the *numen* and to the *providentia* of the emperor.[5] It is a prudent and clever formula, for it does for Tiberius exactly what Tiberius had done for Augustus, when he dedicated during the lifetime of his father an altar to the *Numen Augusti* and a temple to *Concordia Augusta*. In doing this both town and governor must have felt themselves absolutely correct, and we may assume that this formula was what Tiberius wanted.

So much for Tiberius' reply. By a remarkable piece of good fortune we possess a similar utterance from his adopted son Germanicus to the people of Egypt, preserved on a Berlin papyrus.[6] During the winter of 18/19 Germanicus was greeted by the people with 'divine acclamations' (ἰσόθεοι ἐκφωνήσεις), which he thought he must check by edict. In this edict he first acknowledges gratefully their loyal welcome: 'τὴν μὲν εὔνοιαν . . .

[3] A full list will be found in J. R. Rietra, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Vita Tiberi neu kommentiert*, Amsterdam 1928, pp. 13 ff.

[4] Dessau, *ILS*, 157 and 158.

[5] On the significance of *Providentia* see my article in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XXIX, 1936, p. 107.

[6] The Germanicus edict was first published by U. v. Wilamowitz Moellendorff and F. Zucker in *Sitzungsberichte Pr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1911, p. 794; it is treated by C. Cichorius in *Römische Studien*, 1922, p. 375. An emendation, ἐν ὑποπαραιτίᾳ, proposed by Wilhelm in *Wien. Anzeiger*, 1922, 12 July, p. 40 is declared untenable by U. Wilcken in his article in *Hermes*, LXIII, 1928, p. 48 (Wilcken first cited the parallel from the Alexander Romance, for which see p. 7).

ἀποδέχομαι.' But—'τὰς δὲ ἐπιφθόνους ἐμοὶ καὶ ἰσοθέους ἐκφωνήσεις ὑμῶν ἐξ ἅπαντος παραιτοῦμαι. πρέπουσι γὰρ μόνῳ τῷ σωτῆρι ὄντως καὶ εὐεργέτῃ τοῦ σύμπαντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους, τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐμῇ δὲ μάμμῃ. τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ἐ . . . ἐστὶν (? *is far inferior to*) τῆς ἐκείνων θειότητος κτλ.' Little comment is needed: Germanicus modestly refuses excessive titles, which could only bring suspicion and odium upon him; then follows a reminder of the divinity and beneficence of the emperor—where we may observe that Germanicus stresses his relationship—together with a declaration that his own position is far below such θειότης. There is a significant similarity between this pronouncement and that of Tiberius. One other point for comment is the use of παραιτοῦμαι. It is a word of courteous rejection or deprecation, as in the *Epist. ad Diognetum*, 4, 2, where it is contrasted with παραδέχεσθαι (as with ἀποδέχεσθαι here), or as in the *Acta Apollonii*, 22, where Apollonius says 'διὸ τὸ δυσσεβὲς αὐτῶν μάλιστα παραιτοῦμαι.' But from a ruler it is the politest way of refusing, and so we find Augustus saying (*Res Gestae*, 5, 2) 'οὐ παρῃτησάμην . . . τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἀγορᾶς' (the Latin being 'non sum deprecatus') following a phrase with 'οὐκ ἐδεξάμην.' It is 'a courteous indication of disinclination,' from one who could command.

Some twenty years later the Emperor Claudius was faced with a long list of honours offered him by the Alexandrians, and he made a careful choice between honours fitting for a man and for a god. In the now famous *Letter to the Alexandrians*[7] we see him refusing a golden statue representing *Pax Claudiana Augusta*, as it appeared offensive (φορτικὸς):[8] he then accepts several honours, but proceeds—'ἀρχιερέα δ' ἐμὸν καὶ ναῶν κατασκευὰς παραιτοῦμαι, οὔτε φορτικὸς τοῖς κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώποις βουλόμενος εἶναι, τὰ ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνοις τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξαίρετα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀποδεδόσθαι κρίνων κτλ.'

The phrasing here has some obvious reminders of the two previous documents. The reasons for which Claudius deprecates a temple and high-priest for himself are two:[9] he does not want to be φορτικὸς, and he feels that by long tradition temples and suchlike things are reserved *par excellence* (ἐξαίρετα) for the gods alone. In the second reason he stands in line with his uncle Tiberius and his brother Germanicus, in the first (though the phrasing is his own) he agrees with the Tiberian attitude. As to the phrasing Cameron[10] has well compared φορτικὸς here to the phrase in Claudius' speech

[7] The letter of Claudius is published in *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, ed. H. I. Bell, London, 1924, Pap. Lond. 1912, pp. 1 ff. (text on pp. 23 ff.).

[8] Perhaps because a golden statue should be for a god alone: see K. Scott in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* LXII, 1931, p. 101.

[9] His attitude here is consistent with what is related of him by Dio Cassius LX, 5, 4–6 (Boissevain).

[10] See A. Cameron, 'The Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians,' in *Class. Quart.* XX, 1926, p. 45. Cf. too Lucian, *pro Imag.* 1, where Polystratus declares he blushes, 'ὅταν τις ἐπαινῇ με φορτικὰς καὶ ὑπερμέτρους ποιούμενος τὰς ὑπερβολάς.'

preserved at Lyons 'ne nimio insolentior esse videar.' To accept divine honours would be to arrogate vulgarly to himself what he did not deserve, just as in the Lyons tables the mention of *bella* might be thought to imply a boastful allusion to that great *bellum* in which Britain had been added to the Empire.

The three utterances that I have reproduced here all possess a certain fundamental likeness in their general attitude, in the reasons they give, and in the phrasing they employ. This likeness has, naturally, been observed before, and Miss Lily Ross Taylor has suggested that it may well be due to some Augustan model.[11] With this suggestion I am in entire agreement, and I think we can add further evidence in support. In *Inscript. Graecae ad res Rom. pert.* IV, 1302, there will be found a long and interesting text from Aeolic Cyme, datable between 2 B.C. and A.D. 14, concerning honours which the people of Cyme had offered in gratitude to a Roman benefactor, L. Vaccius L. f. Aemilia Labeo.[12] The offer included a temple, the conferment of the titles of κτίστης and εὐεργέτης, the dedication of golden statues 'as is customary to very great benefactors of the people,' and (after death) burial in the gymnasium. Labeo received the news of this offer with great emotion, but (says the text) 'was content to retain what he had already been granted, and to adapt his own fortune to what was accessible to a man.' With this in mind 'τὸν μὲν ὑπερβάρεα καὶ θέοισι καὶ τοῖς ἰσοθέοισι ἁρμόζοισαν τᾶς τε τῶ ναύω κατειρῶσιος τᾶς τε τῶ κτίστα προσονυμασίας τείμαν παρητήσατο, ἀρκέην νομίζων τὰν κρίσιν τῶ πλάθεος καὶ τὰν εὐνόαν ἐπιτεθεωρήκην, ταὶς δὲ τοῖς ἀγάθοισι τῶν ἄνδρων πρεποίσαις ἀσμενιζοίσα χάρα συνεπένευσε τείμαις.'

As there are some doubts of interpretation I give my translation of this very interesting passage. Labeo 'deprecated the honour both of the consecration of the temple and of the title of Founder as excessive and suited only to gods and heroes, considering that it was sufficient for him to have witnessed the decision and the goodwill of the people; but he joined in assenting to the honours that were fitting for good men with welcoming joy.'

This inscription provides only what may be called the *oratio obliqua* of Labeo's reply, but it contains points of such relevance for the theme of this article that comment is demanded. Cyme had proposed to manifest its gratitude to a great benefactor in what was, by now, the normal Greek way; by consecrating a temple to him, by conferring the titles of Founder and Benefactor on him, and by dedicating golden statues—by what, in fact, would

[11] See her article in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* LX, 1929, p. 87.

[12] This inscription was first published (as far as I know) by Boeckh, in *C.I.G.* II, no. 3524, then in H. Collitz, *Sammlung d. griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, 1884, no. 311, and is reproduced in *I.G.R.R.* IV, no. 1302. Unfortunately there does not appear to be any detailed commentary upon it. It has been cited both by Prof. K. Scott (*op. cit.*) and by Prof. S. Eitrem, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, XV and XVI, 1936, p. 111, but not for phraseology.

amount to deification. Labeo's reaction to this offer is instructive: we may observe and compare with the imperial replies. He is content with what he has, content to limit his fortune by human bounds ('τοῖς ἐφίκτοισιν ἀνθρώπω') —'ego me mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi . . . et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo,' said Tiberius, and prayed for a mind 'quietam et intellegentem humani divinique iuris.' The honours proposed suited gods and demi-gods only; similarly Claudius regarded 'temples and suchlike' as marks of honour reserved for gods alone. Therefore Labeo deprecates a temple and the title of Founder: the word he uses, παραιτεῖσθαι, is that employed by Germanicus and Claudius. Sufficient for him ('ἀρκέην,' with which we may compare the Tiberian 'αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρκοῦμαι') is the knowledge of Cyme's goodwill; 'τὴν μὲν εὔνοιαν,' said Germanicus, 'ἀποδέχομαι.' He accepts, however, with pleasure the honours that are suitable for good men ('ταὶς . . . τοῖς ἀγάθοισι τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρεποίσαις . . . τείμαις'); similarly Tiberius claimed that he was content 'μετριωτέραις καὶ ἀνθρωπείοις τιμαῖς.' To Labeo the honour of a temple appeared ὑπερβάρης, to Germanicus ἰσόθεοι ἐκφωνήσεις seemed ἐπιφθόνοι, and Claudius feared that men would think him φορτικὸς if he accepted a temple.

This inscription is certainly the earliest of the four documents we have discussed. It is possible, of course, that Labeo had thought out his attitude for himself, and that the reasons he gives for refusal are his own reaction. Yet I find it more credible to assume that Labeo already knew of a model by which to frame his answer; taking it in conjunction with the answers of Tiberius, Germanicus and Claudius, I feel reasonably sure that Augustus had, before 2 B.C., already given in some pronouncement the 'correct' answer and shown what was the right attitude to adopt towards such offers from Greek or Greek-speaking peoples. As Miss Taylor wrote, ten years ago, about Tiberius (*op. cit.* p. 98), 'refusal of honours was part of the tradition of Augustus that he was faithfully following.'

If this is true, and if we possess vestiges sufficient for reconstructing the Augustan formula of refusal, we can assess more clearly the significance of a passage from the Alexander Romance.[13] The tradition set up by Augustus was polite refusal of ἰσόθεοι τιμαί on the grounds that the emperor was only mortal, content with human honours, and that to accept divine ones would bring odium upon him, since the gods alone could fittingly receive them. The Alexander Romance is usually dated to the second century of our era—*i.e.*, it is post-Augustan. In book II, 22, 7 ff. (ed. Kroll, p. 97) we are shown

[13] This passage was first cited by Wilcken (*op. cit.* p. 50), and later by Miss Taylor (*op. cit.* p. 100) in this connection.

a letter from Rhodogune and Statira in which they declare that Alexander is equal to the Olympians in reason, wisdom and power, and that they have written to the Persians to ask their gods that he may be 'συνθρονισθῆναι τῷ Διὶ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι.'

There then follows Alexander's reply (II, 22, 12):—

'Παραιτοῦμαι τὰς ἰσοθέους τιμάς· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος φθαρτὸς γεγένημαι καὶ εὐλαβοῦμαι τὸ τοιοῦτον· κίνδυνον γὰρ φέρει τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς. ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ δέχομαι ὑμῶν τὸ φρόνημα κτλ.' No scholar accepts the *Romance* as historical, and we can be sure that Alexander never made any such pronouncement. The episode has been invented—and why? When we observe how closely 'Alexander' follows in phrasing and spirit the Augustan formula, the answer must be that the invention was deliberate, and intended to clear Alexander's memory from Stoic-cum-Roman attacks. To this I shall return in a moment, but first I must give Dr. W. W. Tarn's brilliant analysis of the passage, which he was kind enough to send me when I appealed to him for help.

> 'The letter is an inversion of what Timaeus wrote about Callisthenes and Alexander (Polybius, Büttner-Wobst, XII, 12^b (12^e).
>
> '§2. [Timaeus says that] Callisthenes deserved what he got for making Alexander a god, διεφθαρκότα τὴν ἐκείνου ψυχὴν καθ' ὅσον οἷός τ' ἦν. That is why Alexander says it would endanger his soul.
>
> '§3. Praise of Demosthenes, etc. δίοτι ταῖς 'Αλεξάνδρου τιμαῖς ταῖς ἰσοθέοις ἀντέλεγον. Alexander here does what *they* had done; hence the same phrase with the definite article, τὰς ἰσοθέους τιμάς, though the princesses had *not* used that phrase in their letter, and Persis had already made him a full blown θεός (II, 21, 26).
>
> '§4. Blame of Callisthenes for decking out with aegis and thunderbolt a "mortal nature," "nature subject to death" (θνητῇ φύσει). Hence Alexander calls himself ἄνθρωπος φθαρτός, "subject to perishing," though ἄνθρωπος alone was enough; and for φθαρτὸς compare διεφθαρκότα above.
>
> 'Whoever wrote this passage of the *Romance*, wrote with Timaeus open before him at the famous passage about Callisthenes: Alexander was going to do better than *that* this time.'

The writer, whoever it was, when fathering this letter on Alexander, gave it the spirit and phrasing of the Augustan formula, 'παραιτοῦμαι . . . ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ δέχομαι.' We may remark that παραιτεῖσθαι cannot have been a word often used in Hellenistic chancelleries: in Mr. B. Welles' admirable *Royal Correspondence* I can find only one instance cited, and that in a letter from a Parthian king. But in letters from Rome, where a *princeps* and not a king was speaking, it could be used with a greater appearance of naturalness. In the matter of the κίνδυνος περὶ ψυχῆς I can find no parallel utterance from an

emperor, but the conscience of Rome was sufficiently alive to the dangers of great power. Augustus apart, the emperor who warned his friends 'Quanta belua esset imperium,' or who declared 'cuncta mortalium incerta quantoque plus adeptus foret tanto se magis in lubrico' could not be unaware of the dangers that lurked in the θειότης of a ruler. That was precisely the danger that overwhelmed Caligula—'ὑπὸ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκθειάζων ἑαυτὸν' (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XVIII, 256), and Caligula and Domitian remained as 'awful examples' for writers and moralists. As for ἄνθρωπος φθαρτὸς and εὐλαβοῦμαι—the speech of Tacitus reported in *Ann.* IV, 37/38 and Labeo's anxiety to measure his own fortune τοῖς ἐφίκτοισιν ἀνθρώπω both speak the same language. More still; if Augustus did make a pronouncement which served as a model for such refusals, it helps us to understand the vehemence which Livy puts into his denunciation of Alexander the Great (IX, 18): there indeed was a ruler 'mersus secundis rebus,' who could no longer measure his fortune by human standards. The whole hostile portrait, misleading as we know it to be, must have been most satisfying to Roman pride, and must have been drawn with an implied comparison to the 'pater atque princeps.'

III

This, then, was the formula that Augustus had devised, in answering the Greek communities. A courteous expression of pleasure at the offer made, as evidencing the depth of their loyalty, coupled with deprecation of such honours as excessive and suitable to gods only; he was a mortal, content with such honours as are fitting for mortals. If our assumption is correct it explains the singular resemblance that exists between the answers of Labeo, Tiberius, Germanicus and Claudius, which can hardly be due to chance. The formula seems to me typical alike of the prudence and the politeness of Augustus: it was considerate to the Greeks, and it was true to Roman tradition. As such it was a formula that worked well, and Augustus' attitude was followed carefully by the more thoughtful of his successors. 'Im allgemeinem kann man sagen, dass die klugen Kaiser—hierin ebenso vorsichtig wie Augustus handelnd—sich nie Gott nannten, wie oft auch die Untertanen ihnen diesen Namen beilegen mochten.'[14] To call oneself god, or to allow oneself to be called god, and to accept a temple would be overstepping the bounds of human nature.

Our investigation has reached its close. Yet I must permit myself one

[14] K. Jäntere, *Die römische Weltreichsidee und die Entstehung der weltlichen Macht des Papstes*, Turku, 1936, p. 51.

further remark, and that is to notice how curiously this attitude of Augustus is a reminder to the Greeks of what they would have been the first to admit in the fifth century. The Greeks of that time knew well the dangers that lay in a man seeking to become a god, or in arrogating to himself divine honours. Then had come the fourth and third centuries B.C., when men had argued with some show of reason—granted the ancient notions about godship—that if a man did things that only a god could do he ought to be greeted with honours that had hitherto been reserved only for gods. They had forgotten that though it might be a mark of honour to be offered such worship, to accept it must be dangerous for a mortal, and was liable to place him (like the Herodotean tyrant) 'ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοημάτων.' Here the utterance of Augustus was timely, and a prudent recall to the tradition of antiquity.

Yet, however much wise rulers might refuse, the danger still remained. It is perhaps one of the tragedies of such great power as lay in the hands of the Hellenistic monarchs or the Roman emperors that it must apparently be invested with some supernatural sanction; that the holder of it can never be regarded merely as a man, but tends to become something more than ordinarily human. When the great crisis of the Roman Empire in the third century had been weathered, Aurelian brought to Rome, from Persia, the idea of the emperor ruling by the grace of the highest god, of a god-favoured monarchy. This led on to the pomp and ceremonial of the Diocletianic Court, where the acceptance of Christianity by Constantine made little difference. The emperor was ruling by the grace of God, and as such something specially favoured, set apart, rarely to be seen by his subjects, living a life of isolated splendour.

Perhaps the process was inevitable; yet throughout the period occasional voices were raised against the inherent dangers in the system. We have studied at length the prudence and courtesy of Augustus and of his immediate successors; the sanity and good sense of such later emperors as Vespasian, Trajan and Hadrian kept them on the same track. Perhaps the last pagan expression of that spirit is from Marcus Aurelius, who in his 'ὅρα μὴ ἀποκαισαρώθης'[15] shows his dread of becoming a victim of the pomp and ceremony with which even in the second century the throne was being surrounded. But when, two centuries later, the Empire possessed a Christian ruler, and when the motive of Christian piety could powerfully reinforce that of pagan *moderatio*, Christian counsellors could from time to time, sometimes brusquely,

[15] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, VI, 30 (Schenkl).

sometimes more diplomatically, remind emperors that they were but mortal, in spite of the blaze of glory amid which they sat. Hosius, the bishop of Corduba, appealing to Constantius in favour of the orthodox party, and deprecating Constantius' support of the Arians exclaims, in words that would befit a Pindar or Herodotus, 'παύσαι, παρακαλῶ, καὶ μνήσθητι ὅτι θνητὸς ἄνθρωπος τυγχάνεις,' though he follows it up with a 'φοβήθητι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως.'[16] St. Ambrose was ready not only by his writing, but also by action, to convince Theodosius that he was only a mortal, and a sinful one at that, but perhaps one of the latest echoes (apart from Byzantine times, into which I have not the knowledge to lead the reader) is to be found in the address of Synesius to Arcadius *peri Basileias*. In this daring and outspoken pronouncement Synesius asks for pardon if he should speak too freely to a ruler who has power and wealth surpassing those of a Darius, a ruler venerated by cities innumerable, who have never seen him, and who would count seeing him a boon beyond praying for. The speech proceeds as one might expect, but I cannot refrain from quoting one or two sentences which make a fitting conclusion to the general theme of this article; Synesius wishes the emperor to emerge from his seclusion, to show himself to his subjects and to his soldiers, and he proceeds:[17] 'φημὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλο χείρω ποιῆσαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὡς τὴν περὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν σῶμα σκήνην καὶ θεραπείαν, ἣν ὥσπερ ἱερουργοῦντες ἡμῖν ἐν ἀποῤῥήτῳ ποιοῦνται, καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικῶς ἐκτεθεῖσθαι τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς . . . τοιγαροῦν ἡ σεμνότης αὕτη, καὶ τὸ δεδιέναι μὴ ἐξανθρωπισθείητε σύνηθες γενόμενοι θέαμα, κατακλείστους ποιεῖ πολιορκουμένους ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὁρῶντας, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἀκούοντας, ἀφ' ὧν πρακτικὴ φρόνησις συναθροίζεται, μόνας ἡδομένους τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονάς, καὶ τούτων γε τὰς ὑλικωτάτας, ὅσας ἁφή τε καὶ γεῦσις πορίζουσι, βίον ζῶντας θαλαττίου πνεύμονος.[18] ἕως οὖν ἀπαξιοῦτε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου τυγχάνειτε τελειότητος κτλ . . .'

Thus Synesius, and I could not forbear quoting the passage, because it forms an epilogue, albeit a rather melancholy epilogue, to the long history of the position of the ruler in ancient times. True, Arcadius was not claiming the old 'divine honours,' but in lieu of that the best the ancient world could offer in the end was a position of lonely isolation from subjects, awe-inspiring and inhuman. Such is the end of a long process of development that had gone on from Alexander the Great to Arcadius; in it the modest 'refusal' of Augustus plays a part that commands admiration by its sanity and moderation.

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[16] Hosius, in Athanasium (Migne, *P.G.* XXV, 745).
[17] Synesius (Migne, *P.G.* LXVI, 1076–7).
[18] A reference to Plato, *Philebus* 21c.

PROCURATOR AUGUSTI

THE origin of the imperial civil service is generally attributed to Augustus, and its development to Claudius; but a precise understanding of what were the original elements due to Augustus and what the additions of Claudius is to seek, despite much sound piecemeal work on the activity of the latter. The problem has not been tackled as a whole.[1] To speak of the 'civil service' of Augustus is perhaps to use a metaphor of dubious value. The term 'civil service' implies a regular and highly organised body of bureaucratic officials forming an administrative and executive personnel which, under the general guidance of the Government, or, in classical terminology, of the Magistrates, manages, often in minute detail, the affairs of the country concerned. Such systems were not unknown in antiquity, notably in Ptolemaic Egypt, but such was not the system of the Principate in general, even at the fullest development of the procuratorial service. Still less was such a system originated by Augustus, despite the retention in Egypt of Ptolemaic methods.

It is true that Augustus entrusted certain tasks, for which he could not or would not employ senators, to persons drawn from the equestrian order. But unity of social status in the officials does not by itself imply the unity of their functions. The equestrian officials of Augustus fall into two rather different groups. The first group contains the great prefectures—the prefecture of Egypt, instituted in 30 B.C., and three other prefectures, which make their appearance only late in the reign. Two of these, the *praefectura vigilum* and the *praefectura annonae*, instituted between A.D. 5 and A.D. 9, are of normal civil service type;[2] but the third, the *praefectura praetorii*, originally a purely military office which first became a permanent post in 2 B.C., ranks oddly in such company.[3] The only connexion with the other three posts, of which the functions were properly administrative and governmental, is incidental. In the lack of senior military posts open to the equestrian order it was only within this group that a responsible *eques*, and one well known to the Princeps personally, could be found for the key position of *praefectus praetorii*.

[1] Even Hirschfeld in his momumental work, *Die Kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten* (Berlin, 1904), which is the basis of all research, made no serious attempt to explain the gradual growth of the procuratorial cursus or the way in which it worked during the early Principate. That, and only that, is the object of this study. Throughout I owe a great deal to the advice and criticism of Professor Last on points of detail and doctrine.

[2] For the date *cf.* Dio 55, 31, 4. Hirschfeld *op. cit.* 233 ff., 253 f.

[3] Dio 55, 10, 10.

Apart from these prefects a few equestrian officials are known who are commonly grouped together as the 'procurators.' But, as Hirschfeld pointed out, it is necessary to distinguish in the early Principate between the procurators proper, the financial officials, and the so-called praesidial procurators—various military officers, ex-centurions and ex-tribunes, who acted as governors of small provincial areas under the title not of *procurator* but normally of *praefectus*.[4] This distinction can be carried further. It is not merely titular. A careful comparison of the evidence, both literary and epigraphic, for the Principates of Augustus and Tiberius as a whole with that for the period of Claudius and his immediate successor suggests that the so-called praesidial procuratorship took shape but slowly, and differed widely in the earlier period from the guise which it eventually assumed. These governors were originally military officers—commonly of equestrian rank, but often only centurions—sent to deal with difficult regions in the course of their military duties.[5] Hence comes the military title of *praefectus*, sometimes defined as *praefectus civitatum*, or *praefectus civitatum et levis armaturae*, or *praefectus cohortis et civitatum*, with the very occasional variant *praefectus pro legato*.

This method of purely military administration was still common in the middle of Tiberius' reign,[6] and out of it gradually developed the notion of appointing knights *after* their military career to the governorship of minor provinces on the analogy of the prefecture of Egypt. It is probable that the more important of the *praefecti civitatum* were granted regular powers of provincial jurisdiction in the earlier period, but the governmental procuratorship with the title *'procurator provinciae'* was not normal till the time of Claudius.[7]

[4] Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 382 ff.

[5] Strabo 4, 6, 4 (203 C) on the Maritime Alps: ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς πέμπεταί τις ὕπαρχος τῶν ἱππικῶν ἀνδρῶν κάθαπερ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλους τῶν τελέως βαρβάρων. *Cf.* Dio 55, 28, 1, who says that Sardinia was overrun by pirates in A.D. 6, ὥστε τὴν Σαρδὼ στρατιώταις τε καὶ στρατιάρχαις ἱππεῦσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι. G. M. Rushforth (*Latin Historical Inscriptions*, 40, Oxford, 1893) calls attention to a Republican parallel in Cic., *Ad Att.* 5, 21, 6. But Q. Volusius was sent to administer justice to the resident Romans of Cyprus, not to control unruly natives. Mommsen (*St. R.* I, 231 n. 3) suggests that he was *praefectus fabrum*.

The following prefects were of centurion's rank: C. Baebius Atticus, 'praefectus civitatium Moesiae et Treballiae' and 'praefectus civitatium in Alpibus maritumis' between his primipilate and his military tribunate: *ILS* 1349. Sextus Pedius Hirrutus, 'pra(ef) Raetis Vindolicis vallis Poeninae et levis armaturae': *ILS* 2689. Sextus Rufus, 'praefectus cohortis Corsorum et civitatum Barbariae in Sardinia': *ILS* 2684. But Baebius Atticus was *trib. mil.* before governing Noricum under Claudius. L. Vibrius Punicus, an early prefect of Corsica (*CIL* XII 2455) and Sextus Aulienus, 'praefectus levis armaturae' and 'praefectus classis' under Augustus and Tiberius (*ILS* 2688), were of equestrian rank, as presumably was 'M. Iulius regis Donni f. Cottius,' prefect of the Cottian Alps (*ILS* 94). The status of T. Proculus *pro legato* of Sardinia in A.D. 13/14 (*ILS* 105) on the analogy of *ILS* 233 would be equestrian, as was that of the *praefectus Bernicidis* (*ILS* 2698). For *primipili* as *praefecti cf.* A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, 113 (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 117).

[6] *Cf.* n. 5, also Tac. *Ann.* 4, 72, 'Olennius e primipilaribus Frisiis impositus.'

[7] The original title of the governor of Judaea remains uncertain: *cf.* Hirschfeld, *op cit.* 384 f. The sources are inconsistent or non-technical. Tac. *Ann.* 15, 44 (*procurator*) is probably proleptic. The balance of probability inclines towards *praefectus*, though less on the analogy of Egypt, which Hirschfeld puts forward, than on that of Sardinia and the Maritime Alps. Judaea was very small and unruly. Herod, the predecessor of the Roman governors, might be regarded as holding a similar position to Cottius, especially if he allowed the Romans to take a census in his kingdom, part of which was provincialised after his death.

A. Horowitz ('Le Principe de Création des Provinces procuratoriennes,' *Rev. de Philolologie*, 1939, 46 ff.), misses the chronological development of the minor

In the time of Augustus and Tiberius it is difficult to distinguish between the military and the procuratorial affinities of the equestrian governor. Only once is the term *procurator* used to describe what at first sight appears to be a governorship. Q. Octavius Sagitta calls himself 'procurator Caesaris Augusti in Vindalicis et Raetis et in valle Poenina,' [8] but it is clear from the inscription of Sextus Hirrutus that *praefectus* was the proper title even in this area for military governors.[9] Elsewhere *praefectus* is universal.[10] Probably Sagitta was agent in this area when Raetia was a military district under legionary occupation and governed by a *legatus Augusti*.[11] The duties of these military prefects were not always governmental. The *praefectus Bernicidis*[12] was probably in general charge of the mines in that part of Egypt and discharged duties similar to those of the 'archimetallarches metallorum omnium quae sunt in Aegypto.'[13] Both men were ex-tribunes, and the quasi-military character of their duties is obvious.[14]

It is thus apparent that many tasks and posts which ended up as part of the procuratorial system began as an extension of the military duties of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and are not to be reckoned as part of a systematised procuratorial career in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. Most of these posts passed early into the procuratorial system, but a few remained semi-military in character till the second century A.D. For example, equestrian officers were sometimes employed as *censitores* of special districts for the oversight of the provincial census, but not till the time of Trajan at the earliest were regular 'procuratores ad census accipiendos' established.[15] Conversely the prefecture of the fleet, which under Augustus and Tiberius was either a purely military post, held normally after the *praefectura castrorum*,[16] or a domestic post held by freedmen, gradually lost its military associations and was added to the procuratorial career in the time of Claudius and Nero.[17]

prefectures into procuratorships, and holds that the *praefecti* always remained distinct from procuratorial governors, although they were sometimes called *procurator* by courtesy. Hence his theory that procuratorial provinces proper were *always* and *only* frontier provinces with auxiliary, but without legionary, troops does not correspond with the facts. Epirus notably violates his canons, as he admits, despite the plea that it became a frontier province when Nero freed the rest of Achaia (*ibid.* 220 ff.). *Cf.* also his views in *Rev. belge de Philol. et d'Hist.*, 1938, 51 ff, 775 ff.

[8] *ILS* 9007.

[9] *Ibid.* 2689: above, n. 5.

[10] *Cf.* above, n. 5.

[11] Sagitta was appointed procurator in Raetia not later than 2 B.C.—sixteen years before A.D. 14 at latest, according to the inscription. But Raetia seems to have been under a legate till A.D. 9 (*cf.* R. Syme in *CAH* X 350 n. 7), if the archaeological evidence for a legionary camp at Oberhausen can be accepted as chronologically precise (F. Wagner, *Die Römer in Bayern*, Munich, 1924, p. 9 and n. 4) and the arguments based on the disposition of the legions—positing two in Raetia—are just (*cf.* Ritterling's restoration of *ILS* 847 in *RE* s.v. Legio 1226). The procurator would then be the grandfather of the Sagitta who was tribune in A.D. 58 (Tac. *Ann.* 13, 44. A. Stein, *Die römische Ritterstand*, Munich, 1927, p. 326).

[12] *ILS* 2698, above, n. 5.

[13] *OGIS* 660. *AE* 1910, n. 207.

[14] *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* 11, 20. Mining and soldiering were close allies in the early Principate.

[15] *ILS* 1338, 1394, are the first known *censitores* of the new type (*cf.* Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 56).

[16] *Cf.* Domaszewski, *op. cit.* 112 f. *E.g. ILS* 2688.

[17] The fleet at Misenum, being more concerned with the Court, remained under freedmen (Pliny *NH* 9, 62. *ILS* 1986, 2815—A.D. 52. Tac. *Ann.* 14, 3. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 87) till Vitellius gave the charge to knights (Tac. *Hist.* 2, 100. *Cf.* below, n. 66). The view of V. Chapot (*La Flotte de Misène*, 111 ff.) that the freedmen prefects were

The term *procurator* in the time of Augustus and Tiberius was thus limited to the agents who administered the public revenues and the private property of the Princeps. That this is the proper connotation of the term there is no serious doubt. The connexion of *procurator* with *res Caesaris* is regular even in the later imperial writers, and it was not till the time of Claudius at the earliest that the term was extended to cover more than financial affairs.[18] The procurator at first possessed no judicial, governmental or military authority whatsoever. For Augustus this appears most clearly in the employment of the notorious freedman Licinus as the procurator of Gaul.[19] Tacitus affirms the principle for the procurators of Tiberius in general, and implies that Tiberius was following the lead of Augustus.[20] Tiberius himself laid down the rule in the case of a procurator of the public province of Asia.[21] Augustus and Tiberius were simply following the system adopted by the Republican nobility of using members of the financially qualified equestrian order as their business agents.[22] Whether they handled the private estates of the Princeps in a senatorial province or his public revenues in his own provinces, they themselves remained private agents, irrespective of the status of the funds concerned. The early form of their title shows this: *procurator Caesaris Augusti* is used equally by Q. Octavius Sagitta in Spain,[23] by P. Caninius Agrippa in Achaea,[24] and by M. Bennius Rufus in Italy.[25] There were differences of function, especially that in the imperial provinces one of the duties of the procurator was to use the revenues which he collected to pay the troops.[26] But, unlike the quaestor whom he displaced, the procurator of an imperial province had no

given the *anuli aurei* (for the effect of which *cf.* A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, Oxford 1928, 214 ff.) and equestrian status is not borne out by the inscription of Optatus, who calls himself *Aug. lib.* Nor is it certain that they were a Claudian innovation. More likely Tiberius made the change after his move to Capri, when the fleet became the imperial transport service (Optatus was a freedman of Tiberius: Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 226 n. 1, despite Pliny *NH* 9, 62). Or the earlier prefects may have been in charge of the *whole* fleet. They bear no special title. Despite Chapot (*op. cit.* 148) Aulienus, whose inscription comes from Venafrum, not Misenum (*ILS* 2688), is not necessarily the prefect of Misenum.

[18] *Cf.* nn. 20–22 and p. 21, below.

[19] Dio 54, 21. Suet. *Aug.* 67, 1. *Apocolocyntosis*, 6.

[20] Tac. *Ann.* 4, 6. 'Res suas spectatissimo cuique mandabat . . . si quando cum privatis disceptaret forum ac ius.'

[21] *Ibid.* 4, 15. 'Non se ius nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse: quod si vim praetoris usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret spreta in eo mandata sua.' *Cf.* Dio 57, 23, 5.

[22] *Cf.* Cic. *Ad Fam.* 12, 24, 3 '(T. Pinarius) procurat rationes negotiaque Dionysi nostri.' *Ibid.* 13, 43, 1 'L. Oppius . . . negotia procurat L. Egnati.' Also the general relation of Atticus to Cicero, who for all his complaints was a very rich man. For the use of the term *res procurare* of the imperial procurators, *cf.* the passages cited above, nn. 20, 21. Also Pliny (*NH* 2, 199) uses *res Neronis procurans* as a synonym for *procurator Caesaris*. Tac. *Ann.* 16, 17 *procurationes administrandis principis rebus*. Only in the second century does Suetonius speak of the government of a province, and that Egypt, as *procuratio* (*Nero* 35). Despite Bell (*Jews and Christians in Alexandria*, 33), the Vitrasius Pollio referred to by Claudius in his letter as ἐπίτροπος is not the prefect of A.D. 39–41, but the procurator mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 36, 57) who was probably holding some post similar to the *praefectus Sarmatis* (K. Fitzler's suggestion, *cf.* above, nn. 5, 13), whence his connexion with stone statues. (Possibly the same man is the Gallic procurator of *CIL X* 5871, rather than the prefect as Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 418 n. 4, holds). For Claudius uses ἔπαρχος in the letter, and Pliny regularly uses *praefectus*, for prefect (*cf. NH* 6, 181. 19, 3; 11. 36, 69). So the Pollio of the letter must be a procurator unless ἐπίτροπος is a dittography from the line above.

[23] *ILS* 9007, above, n. 11.

[24] *AE* 1910, 5. 'P. Caninius Agrippa proc. Caesaris Aug. prov. Achaiae.'

[25] *ILS* 1375.

[26] Strabo 3, 4, 20 (167 C), of Hither Spain. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἱππικὸ ἀνδρῶν οἱ διοικοῦντες τὰ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις.

independent responsibility. Hence the connexions of the early procurators are with the household of the Princeps rather than the delegates of his *imperium*. Apart from Licinus in Gaul, Augustus employed indifferently for his public libraries *grammatici* who were freedmen, Hyginus and Melissus,[27] and a Roman knight, Pompeius Macer.[28] Conversely, Sextus Afranius Burrus served as the agent of Livia before becoming the procurator of Tiberius.[29]

It follows from the above discussion that a strong distinction is to be drawn between the *praefecti provinciarum* or *praefecti civitatum* and the *procuratores Augusti*. Only the former possessed in any way an official or constitutional position in the earliest period, derived from their connexion with the army. Any unity which the so-called procuratorial career at this time possessed was derived merely from the unity of the common military origin and social status of the persons concerned.

This conclusion is reinforced by an examination of the known careers of Roman knights in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. There is no suggestion in the available evidence, which is not altogether meagre, of any concatenation or co-ordination of the three branches of the equestrian career discussed above. The custom—for there was certainly no rule—seems to have been to employ a man always in the same kind of job. C. Baebius Atticus held several posts as *praefectus* ending up under Claudius as governor of Noricum, but was never a financial procurator. Other *praefecti* are known who up to the date of their inscriptions were never procurators, and *vice versa*.[30] Q. Octavius Sagitta, the only possible exception, was probably, as was argued above, always a financial officer, as he certainly was in Spain and Syria. Pompeius Macer, who was procurator of Augustus in Asia,[31] was given charge of his libraries in Rome—which falls in the category of *res Caesaris*. Augustus seems in fact to have followed the rules of common sense in dealing with these posts. Doubtless if men had capacities in both directions they may have been used both as procurators and prefects. But present indications point the other way.

The known evidence concerning the group of senior prefectures, which had come into being by the end of Augustus' reign, produces even more curious results. It is usually said that only persons of great experience and ability were appointed to the prefecture of Egypt and the other great prefectures. This may be true in general, but it is not demonstrable. The evidence rather indicates that these offices were filled by men who had held no other civil posts. There is evidence for promotion *within* the group in the

[27] Suet. *De Gramm.* 20, 21.
[28] Suet. *Div. Iulius.* 56.
[29] *ILS* 1321.
[30] Above, nn. 5–13.
[31] Strabo 13, 2, 3 (618 C).

Augustan and Julio-Claudian period. The prefecture of Egypt was commonly filled from the pretorian—a custom perhaps established by Augustus by the promotion of his first pretorian prefect, Ostorius Scapula, to Egypt—and the pretorian prefecture was sometimes filled from the *praefectura vigilum* or the *praefectura annonae*.[32] There was evidently no hard-and-fast rule. When Augustus wanted a trustworthy man for the first *praefectus annonae* he seems to have chosen an ex-prefect of Egypt, C. Turranius.[33] But there is no known evidence of promotion from outside this group, *i.e.*, from procuratorships or minor prefectures, to any of these senior posts until the time of Claudius,[34] and there are certain indications that such graded promotion through the procuratorial service was not normal even then. As late as A.D. 69 Lucilius Bassus expected to be appointed directly after his military service to the pretorian prefecture.[35] Indeed, throughout the Julio-Claudian period, for which the evidence is comparatively abundant, appointments to the senior prefectures seem to have been achieved by personal and political influence rather than by merit.[36] This is easily demonstrable for the Neronian period, both early and late. Not only did Caecina Tuscus, Tigellinus and Nymphidius Sabinus owe everything to court favour, but even Faenius Rufus, who performed his duties as *praefectus annonae* and *praefectus praetorii* so well,[37] owed his position to Agrippina.[38] In some at least of these instances it would appear from the not altogether meagre tradition that the persons concerned had not held any responsible posts before these important prefectures. Nor can the facts be dismissed as a peculiar scandal of the Neronian period. The appointment of Seianus to be pretorian prefect with his father in A.D. 14 was, according to Tacitus, due entirely to his personal influence with Tiberius.[39] He had indeed

[32] For Ostorius Scapula, *cf.* Dio 55, 10, 10: De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* 1937, 337. Lusius Geta, pretorian prefect with Crispinus till A.D. 51 (Tac. *Ann.* 12, 42) was prefect of Egypt in 54 (*OGIS* 664). The promotion of Macro by Caligula likewise was normal, despite Hirschfeld (*op. cit.* 347) precisely because it was a trick to get rid of him (Dio 59, 10, 6. Philo, *In Flaccum*, 10 ff.). *Cf.* below, nn. 36–41.

[33] There is no reason to doubt the identity of the C. Turranius who was prefect of Egypt in 4 B.C. (Reinmuth, *Klio Beiheft* 34, 'The Prefect of Egypt,' 131) with the man who was prefect of the *annona* in A.D. 14, and who apparently held that office since its institution in about A.D. 8 (*cf.* Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 240, n. 2).

[34] That the prefect of Egypt Maximus to whom the Tarraconenses set up an inscription at Aeclanum in Italy (*CIL* IX 1125) had been procurator in Spain, as Stein (in *P-W* XIV, col. 442), suggests, is very far from certain. For the Vitrasii Polliones *cf.* above n. 22.

[35] Tac. *Hist.* 2, 100. *Cf.* Plotius Firmus, Otho's pretorian prefect (*ibid.* 1, 46) 'e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus praepositum.' Conversely Graecinius Laco after being *praefectus vigilum*, was a procurator in Gaul (Dio 58, 9, 3; 60, 23, 3. *ILS* 1336–1337).

[36] Caecina Tuscus, the son of Nero's nurse (Suet. *Nero* 35) had indeed been *iuridicus Alexandriae* in A.D. 51 (*P. Ryl.* 2, 119, 4). He was an established court favourite by 55 (Tac. *Ann.* 13, 20) when there was a rumour of his appointment to the pretorian prefecture, and became prefect of Egypt in A.D. 63 (Dio 63, 18, 1). Tigellinus' court connexions are well attested (Schol. on Juvenal I, 155. Dio 59, 23, 9. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 72) 'praefecturam vigilum et praetorii et alia praemia virtutum . . . vitiis adeptus' (*cf. Ann.* 14, 51 and Furneaux *ad loc.*). Nymphidius Sabinus, like Tigellinus (Tac. *Ann.* 15, 72)—'matre libertina ortus quae corpus decorum inter servos libertosque principum vulgaverat ex C. Caesare se genitum ferebat'—had a long standing connexion with the court before his preferment.

[37] Tac. *Ann.* 13, 22; 14, 51.

[38] *Ibid.* 14, 57. 'Perculso Seneca promptum fuit Rufum Faenium imminuere Agrippinae amicitiam in eo criminantibus.'

[39] *Ibid.* 1, 24: 'Magna apud Tiberium auctoritate.' More fully in 4, 1: 'Prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus.' *Cf.* Dio 57, 19, 5. For his senatorial connexions on his mother's side *cf.* Velleius 2, 127, 3. *ILS* 8996. *PIR s.v.*

been on the fringe of the imperial household from an early age. So too Avillius Flaccus, prefect of Egypt in A.D. 37, who had been brought up with the grandsons of Augustus and played a part in the downfall of Agrippina, owed his prefecture to the friendship of Tiberius.[40] Likewise the powerful prefect of Claudius' reign, Rufrius Crispinus, was noted for his social connexions.[41] But most light is cast by the peculiar influence of the family of Seneca. An uncle, Galerius, was prefect of Egypt under Tiberius,[42] and Seneca's brother, Annaeus Mela, was noted for an *ambitio praepostera* which led him to prefer an equestrian career to the senatorial cursus, in the certain hope of achieving the highest posts open to knights.[43] That he was relying upon his family connexions can hardly be doubted. It was perhaps a deliberate break with this tradition when at last a plain man of well tried ability, Afranius Burrus, was appointed pretorian prefect in A.D. 51 to replace the influential Rufrius Crispinus. Yet even Burrus was selected by the influence of Agrippina, and had been earlier a procurator of Tiberius, Livia and Claudius.[44] It is precisely when there is evidence of such influence *before* appointment that one may suspect a lack of strict regard for merit. Once in office these prefects naturally took a leading place in society.[45]

It would thus appear that the senior prefectures in the early Principate formed a series of prizes which fell to distinguished persons drawn from the most exalted circles, and were not necessarily the crown of a long and arduous career in the obscurer branches of the imperial service.[46] At least, to gain these posts one had to attract the notice of the Princeps or to secure a court connexion.[47] Such perhaps was the original meaning of the term *amicus meus,*

[40] Philo, *In Flaccum* 1, 2. 3, 9. 19, 158. Also friendship with Macro, above, n. 32.

[41] Tac. *Ann.* 12, 42. *Cf.* 15, 71. 16, 17. 'Cura exsolverentur Lusius Geta et Rufrius Crispinus quos Messallinae memores et liberis eius devinctos credebat (Agrippina).' Crispinus made a very distinguished marriage (Tac. *Ann.* 13, 45; Suet. *Nero*, 35) with the later notorious Poppaea, daughter of an equally famous mother (Tac. *Ann.* 11, 2): but this presumably was after his appointment, and after the death of her mother almost *at his hands*, though the opposite—no less gruesome—is also possible. Whether the Iulius Postumus closely associated with Agrippina in Tiberius' reign (*Ann.* 4, 12) is the prefect of Egypt of A.D. 45/48 (*CIL* VI 918; *P. Oxy.* 2, 283) is less certain.

[42] Pliny, *NH* 19, 3. Seneca, *Ad Helviam*, 19, 6. Reinmuth, *op. cit.*, 5. Cantarelli, 'Per l' Amministrazione . . . dell' Egitto Romano,' *Aegyptus* 8, 89–96.

[43] Tac. *Ann.* 16, 17. 'Ut eques Romanus consularibus potentia aequaretur: simul *adquirendae pecuniae brevius iter* credebat per procurationes administrandis principis negotiis.' The words italicised deserve more attention than is given them by some students of the Principate. Apparently he achieved his ambition, for Tacitus classes him with Crispinus as 'eques Romanus dignitate senatoria' (*ibid.*).

[44] Tac. *Ann.* 12, 42. *ILS* 1321. Tacitus seems to stress this point, 'transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrum Afranium egregiae militaris famae gnarum *tamen* cuius sponte praeficeretur.'

[45] There are two notorious instances of undue influence in the promotion of equestrian officials other than prefects. Felix the brother of Pallas became governor of Judaea (Tac. *Ann.* 12, 54. *Hist.* 5, 9. Suet. *Claudius*, 28), probably after receiving the *anuli aurei*, *cf.* below, n. 89. Iulius Privignus, the venal procurator of Cappadocia was 'Claudio perquam familiaris cum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum iners otium oblectaret' (Tac. *Ann.* 12, 49). Apparently he was the court jester, *cf.* Furneaux (*ad loc.*).

[46] For the possible identification of Ti. Claudius Balbillus the librarian of Alexandria with Claudius' friend Ti. Claudius Barbillus—according to the text of the Alexandrine letter (*P. Lond.* 1912, 1. 36)—*cf.* below, n. 68.

[47] One wonders whether Catonius Iustus would have been pretorian prefect in A.D. 43 if he had not been sent from Pannonia on a special mission to Rome in A.D. 14 (Tac. *Ann.* 1, 29. Dio 60, 18, 3, etc.).

sometimes used by the Princeps of his procurators.[48] Technical or professional qualifications were not required. Philo implies this when he says that Flaccus learned his job remarkably quickly, considering that even those occupied from their youth up in the administration of Egypt had difficulty in mastering their work—and Philo was not concerned to flatter the man.[49] For the reign of Augustus there is indeed little evidence. The names of nine prefects of Egypt are known, but a study of their circumstances yields few results.[50] Strabo describes them generally as σώφρονες ἄνδρες, and such they seem to have been.[51] Even their descendants were mostly undistinguished. Not till Seius Strabo, who married a lady with senatorial connexions, does there appear a prefect of any social importance.[52] The prefects under Augustus were thus kept in their place after Cornelius Gallus. But since the method of direct appointment without previous administrative experience was common in the following half century, it is unlikely that any other system was employed earlier. Until the creation late in Augustus' reign of three new prefectures, for the *praetorium*, *vigiles* and *annona* respectively, there could be no question of anything like a *cursus honorum*, and even then there was a distinction between the procuratorial system and the prefectures.

This failure to build up a system or to make use of experts is manifest in the evidence for the other posts of the Egyptian administration, notably the *iuridicus* and the *idiologus*, which so far have been left out of account. They were officers concerned with jurisdiction and finance respectively, and their duties seem to have been complicated; yet epigraphic evidence shows that Tiberius, at least, appointed men straight from their military tribunates to these posts.[53] The *idiologus* had to guide him in his assessment of penalties a little handbook known as the *Gnomon*, compiled by, or at the orders of,

[48] *Cf.* the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrines, where Barbillus and Archibius are each described as ὁ ἐμὸς ἑταῖρος (ll. 105–107), but not Vitrasius Pollio. Also *ILS* 206, 'Plantam Iulium amicum et comitem meum.' Bruns 80, 'Sagittam amicum et procuratorem meum.'

[49] *In Flaccum* 1, 3. παντάπασιν οὖν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πραγματειῶν ἔθας γίγνεται. πολύτροποι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ποικίλαι μόλις τοῖς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ ἔργον πεποιημένοις γνωριζόμεναι.

[50] Reinmuth, *op. cit.* 131 f. Also De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* 1937, 337 ff., for Ostorius Scapula. Cornelius Gallus, a knight of provincial origin (Stein, *op. cit.* 384) had led the invasion of Egypt (Dio 51, 9, 1), and was a person of obvious importance. Of Aelius Gallus nothing is known beyond his friendship with the geographer Strabo; he may have been the adoptive father of Seianus (*cf. PIR*² *s.v.*), in whose conspiracy another Aelius Gallus was involved (Tac. *Ann.* 5, 8). P. Octavius, possibly an equestrian relative of Augustus, and Ostorius Scapula, previously or later the first prefect of the pretorians with P. Salvius Aper (Dio 55, 10, 10) had descendants in the Senate (*OGIS* 659 n. 3 and Tac. *Ann.* 12, 31); but a possible son of C. Iulius Aquila followed an equestrian career under Claudius and Nero (Tac. *Ann.* 12, 15. *CIL* III 346. *CIG* 5790). Of the origins and descendants of C. Petronius, P. Rubrius Barbarus, C. Turranius, even less is known. Tacitus mentions one Rubrius as a 'modicus eques Romanus' (*Ann.* 1, 73). For M. Magius Maximus *cf.* n. 34, above.

[51] Strabo 17, 1, 12 (797 C). Not despite Reinmuth (*op. cit.* 4) 'men of tried ability . . . promoted . . . after a long official career.'

[52] *ILS* 8996. Velleius 2, 127, 3.

[53] *ILS* 2690. 'M. Vergilio . . . Gallo Lusio . . . trib. mil. . . . cohort. primae idio(lo)go ad Aegyptum,' evidently under Tiberius. In *ILS* 2691 L. Volusenus Clemens was 'trib. mil praef. equit. praef. tironum' and possibly assisted in the census of Aquitania (. . . accepit). Then 'cum hic mitteretur a Ti. Caes. Aug. in Aegypt. ad iur. dict. decessit provinc. Aquitania.'

Augustus.[54] Originally, however, his duties were less important than they eventually became. The *iuridicus* was left to his own discretion. This reliance on amateurs is partly explained, for the prefect and *idiologus*, by the existence of a numerous staff of Greek subordinates, who could guide them on points of detail.[55] Yet the *iuridicus*, in the documents, seems to give his decisions out of his own head. Nor was their term of office long enough to enable them to become masters of the whole system: fourteen known prefects span the period from 30 B.C. to A.D. 40.[56] Evidently neither prefects nor *iuridici* nor *idiologi* were required to be more than sound and trustworthy men. Their general efficiency was sufficiently tested in their military career. The refusal or failure to create a system is the more remarkable in Egypt, where all the elements of a hierarchy were to hand, prefect above, then *iuridicus*, *idiologus*, and, below them, the *epistrategi*. The latter post, which, like the two preceding, was taken over from the Ptolemaic system, was the lowest office held by Romans in Egypt. It illustrates the unpretentious nature of Augustus' arrangements that at first a Greek was left in charge of the *epistrategia* of the Thebaid.[57] Eventually he was replaced by a Roman, and with the creation of *epistrategiae* for the Delta and the 'Seven Nomes with the Arsinoite,' these posts were regularly filled by knights.[58] But not till the time of Claudius did the *epistrategiae* become stepping-stones to higher things.

Augustus and Tiberius thus avoided the forms of bureaucracy even when they could not avoid the use of bureaucrats, and took special pains to avoid the extension of their spheres of activity. This is most notable in the lack of a regular secretariat. They had freedmen in plenty, but the advisory functions performed under Claudius by Pallas and Narcissus were done for Augustus and Tiberius by more dignified *socii laboris*, Maecenas, Agrippa and Seianus. Augustus trusted some of his freedmen as Cicero trusted Tiro, but he subjected them to a discipline which did not permit them to rise above the status of servants.[59] When he required a confidential secretary for his private correspondence, Augustus invited the assistance of Horace.[60] In the use of his friends he was a thorough Republican. They were not the *comites* of a court, nor the paid servants of a master, but stood towards Augustus in the relation

[54] *Cf.* Stuart Jones, *Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy* (Oxford 1920), 11 f. For the original scope of the department *cf.* Strabo *loc. cit.*

[55] *Cf.* Philo, *In Flaccum* 1, 3, above, n. 49.

[56] *Cf.* Reinmuth, *op. cit.* 127. The average term of office was even shorter in the later Principate. Galerius' sixteen years were quite exceptional.

[57] *IGRR I* 1302, in 17/16 B.C.

[58] Martin, *Les Épistratèges*, 84 ff. Lists of *epistrategi ibid.*, also in J. G. Milne, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*. Q. Corvius Flaccus was the first (known). None of the earlier, including M. Clodius Postumus, A. Folmius Crispus, Ragonius Celer, before Ti. Iulius Alexander, is known elsewhere in the imperial service or even mentioned in the extensive prosopographic material of the early Principate; yet their names suggest Italian rather than provincial citizens. Possibly they were recruited from the Egyptian legions, and so had no chance of promotion while the senior posts were filled from outside.

[59] Suet. *Aug.* 67, and below, n. 90.

[60] Suet. *Horatius* 45 (p. 297).

that Balbus and Oppius held towards Caesar.[61] In the administration of Italy also, the creation of a centralised bureaucracy was avoided even when some form of imperial interference became inevitable. Wherever possible Augustus and Tiberius preferred the appointment of senatorial *curatores*, nominally under the control of the Senate, to that of equestrian prefects responsible to themselves. Over against the equestrian *praefectus annonae* and the *praefectus vigilum* were the senatorial *curator aquarum*, the *curatores viarum* and the *curatores alvei Tiberis*. This tradition of respect for the forms of senatorial authority in Italy was maintained wherever possible in the first two centuries of the Principate.[62]

Claudius and Nero

The evidence for the careers of Roman knights in the later Julio-Claudian Principates reveals an increasing complexity in the nascent bureaucracy. There is no violent break with the precedents of the earlier period, yet something more systematic is observable. First the three branches of the equestrian career appear to have been consolidated. This was achieved by two changes. First was the assimilation of the quasi-military governmental prefectures and the civil procuratorships. On the one hand the term *praefectus* was displaced by the title *procurator*. Henceforth *praefecti civitatum* appear only as subordinate administrators concerned with special areas within the regular provinces.[63] That the change was completed by Claudius is proved most decisively by the fact that the governors of his *new* equestrian provinces in Thrace and Mauretania were known as *procuratores* from the beginning.[64] The demilitarisation of the office may have commenced earlier with the grant of civil jurisdiction to the

[61] Aulus Gellius, *NA* 17, 9, 1, refers to a collection of letters of Caesar to Oppius and Balbus 'qui res eius absentis curabant.' But one would hardly call them procurators.

[62] *Cf.* also the 'praefecti aerarii Saturni,' 'praefecti frumenti dandi,' and the 'praefecti aerarii militaris'—the latter a late creation of Augustus—all senatorial posts. *Cf.* Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 260, 265. Augustus also experimented with senatorial commissioners of the *annona*, before establishing the equestrian prefecture (Dio 55, 26, 2; 31, 4). Trajan left the oversight of his *alimenta* to senatorial commissioners. This disguised centralisation, which increased at the end of Augustus' reign, is the point of Tac. *Ann.* 1, 2, 'munia senatus in se trahere,' *cf.* above, p. 11.

[63] *Cf.* n. 5 for the earlier usage. In Raetia the transitional form *procurator et pro legato*, a procurator in exceptional charge of legionary troops (Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 390 ff.) appears under Claudius: *ILS* 1348 (Hirschfeld's original view that this is Claudian by its spelling must be right; for *procurator Augustorum* at this period *cf. CIL* IX 3019, Pliny *NH* 2, 199). C. Baebius Atticus after several *praefecturae civitatum* under Tiberius appears under Claudius as 'procurator *in* Norico' (*ILS* 1349). *Procurator* is found in Sardinia by A.D. 69: *ILS* 5947 (but the older title was combined with the newer in the formula *procurator et praefectus* by 83, *cf. ILS* 5350; 1358), and in Corsica by A.D. 72 (*CIL* X 8038). At Sparta C. Iulius Spartiaticus was styled 'procurator Caesaris et Augustae' by Claudius to regularise his position as the descendant of kings, instead of *praefectus* (*AE* 1927, n.2). *Cf.* Cottius, above n. 5. Cf. also the probable application of the term *procurator* to the overseer of the mines in Egypt under Claudius, above n. 22. The title of the *praefectus Bernicidis* remained unchanged (*ILS* 2699, 2700).

[64] Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 385. The earliest known Claudian procurator of Mauretania was *pro legato* (*AE* 1924, n. 66), as in Raetia, n. 63 above.

praefecti.[65] A similar development affected the *praefectura classis*, which became a civil post and was inserted within the procuratorial career at this time.[66] On the other hand, the financial procurators were assimilated to the governmental procurators late in Claudius' reign by the grant of certain powers of jurisdiction, for which previously they had been dependent upon the provincial governors.[67]

The second great change—if the suggestion of the admittedly scanty evidence for the earlier period be accepted—was the gradual development of the major prefectures into senior posts of a regular equestrian cursus. The prefects under Claudius and Nero begin to be chosen among the senior procurators instead of being appointed from outside, though this custom was very far from being an absolute rule. Notable but not isolated instances are the careers of Afranius Burrus, Ti. Julius Alexander, and possibly Ti. Claudius Balbillus. These men, whose careers are particularly well attested, proceeded from their military service through a series of procuratorial posts to the supreme prefectures.[68]

[65] Tac. *Ann.* 12, 60. 'Mox alias per provincias et in urbe pleraque concessa sunt quae olim a praetoribus noscebantur,' referring to the period between the institution of the prefecture of Egypt and the grant of jurisdiction by Claudius to the financial procurators, may well cover the grant of such powers, probably in Tiberius' reign, to the equestrian governors and the city officials such as the prefect of the corn supply; indeed there is nothing else to which this passage can refer, and of course Pontius Pilate had extensive powers (Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 401 ff.). *Cf.* above, n. 5 and below, n. 67.

[66] *ILS* 2702, Tac. *Ann.* 13, 30. Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis held the post of 'praefectus classis Ravennatis' after a procuratorship, at some date between A.D. 42 and 56 (trib. mil. leg. C.p.f.). By A.D. 69 the *classis Misenensis* was an equestrian procuratorship (Tac. *Hist.* 2, 100)—held later by the elder Pliny after a procuratorship in Spain (Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 5, 17; 6, 16, 4). *Cf.* n. 17, above. Chapot (*op. cit.* 111) seems to misunderstand this change, which corresponds to the increasingly civil character of the fleet's duties, and regards the fleet as a purely military unit.

[67] Tac. *Ann.* 12, 60. 'Eo anno saepius audita vox principis parem vim rerum habendam a procuratoribus suis iudicatarum ac si ipse statuisset.' Comparison with *Ann.* 4, 6 'si quando cum privatis disceptaret (Tiberius) forum et ius,' and 4, 15—the case of Lucilius Capito—shows that only equestrian procurators were concerned (above, n. 21), despite the misleading last sentence of the chapter, 'Claudius libertos quos rei familiari praefecit sibique et legibus adaequaverit.' This jibe is extraneous, and cannot mean that any freedmen agents were given jurisdiction; for the freedmen were either the subordinates of the executive knights (below, p. 23) or were secretaries, not actual administrators of provinces. Felix' appointment to Judaea is not relevant here, *cf.* below, n. 89.

[68] For Burrus, *cf.* above, n. 44. Whether the learned prefect of Egypt in A.D. 55–59 (Tac. *Ann.* 13, 22. *OGIS* 666. Pliny, *NH* 19, 3. Seneca, *Nat. Q.* IV, 2, 13), the Alexandrine friend of Claudius (above, n. 48), and the equestrian procurator of Asia, etc. (*AE* 1924 n. 78, below, p. 22), all known as Ti. Claudius Balbillus (or Barbillus, a frequent eastern variant for Balbillus: A. Stein, *Aegyptus*, 1933, 125 nn. 3–4), are the same man or three different men, has been much disputed. The ground on which Stein (*art. cit.* 132) rejects the identification of the procurator with the friend of Claudius is the best reason for accepting it, namely that Claudius' Greek friend had to go through the equestrian cursus from the beginning, despite his eminent position at Alexandria and his mature years. So had other Greeks of like status, Xenophon, Spartiaticus, etc. (below, nn. 69–70, 98). This was deliberate policy: *cf.* below, p. 25.

The identification of the procurator of Asia with the prefect of Egypt is disputed on chronological grounds. His inscription was set up at Ephesus after the death of Claudius late in A.D. 54, and the prefect sailed from Italy to Egypt in A.D. 55. But the inscription might well have been to honour his departure, and Pliny quotes Balbillus' voyage to Egypt as a record-breaking passage. So the time-table and the threefold identification is quite possible, and, as Stein admits, on all other grounds very probable. The Alexandrine legation contained persons whose identification with other famous scholars, including one other future librarian, Dionysius, (below n. 70) is reasonably certain (Bell, *Jews and Christians* 29). Why Stein says that Balbillus' writings—'perfectus in omni genere litterarum'—were in Latin is obscure (*art. cit.* 127 n. 1).

Ti. Julius Alexander was *epistrategus* of the Thebaid in A.D. 42 (*OGIS* 663), procurator of Judaea in 46 (Jos. *Ant.* 20, 100), *minister bello datus* under Corbulo in 63 (Tac. *Ann.* 15, 28), prefect of Egypt in 66 (*cf. OGIS* 669 n. 2 and *PIR s.v.*). Cn. Vergilius Capito, like Balbillus, was (Αἰ)γύπτου καὶ Ἀσίας ἐπίτροπος (*AE* 1909 n. 136) and was later prefect of Egypt (*OGIS* 665). Less exalted but still complicated was the career of Sergius Proculus, who was *iuridicus Alexandriae* and, under Nero, procurator of Cappadocia with Cilicia (*AE* 1914 n. 128). *Cf.* also Palpellius Clodius (above n. 66) and Seneca's general reference to the procuratorial career, 'procurationes officiorumque per officia processus' (*Epp.* 17–18, 101, 6, and *ibid.* 2, 19, 5).

As a result of these changes the procuratorship lost its domestic shackles and took its place, along with the *praefecturae*, within the imperial constitution, and the equestrian career began to take shape and to fill out. It acquired a head and a middle, and lacked only feet. There was not yet a regular series of minor posts in which the novices could be trained, and which did not call for special ability and trustworthiness. The procuratorial service was still very much a senior service. It is not that humbler posts were entirely lacking. There were the *epistrategiae* of Egypt, and we know that Ti. Claudius Balbillus was '(procurator Asiae et a)edium divi Augusti et . . . lucorum sacro(rumque omnium qu)ae sunt Alexan(driae et in toto Aegypt)o et supra Museum et a(b Alexandri)na bybliothece et archi(erei et ad Herm)en Alexandreon per (annos . . .) et ad legationes et resp(onsa Graeca Ca)esaris Aug divi Claudi.'[69] But this list represents, instead of a series of charges held one after another, a conglomeration of posts held at most in two or three turns. A similar collocation of posts mostly held at once turns up in the career of another scholar of the period, Dionysius of Alexandria, a Romanised Greek of the same type as Claudius' doctor Stertinius Xenophon, who also after the military tribunate was *ad responsa Graeca*.[70] It would then appear that where minor posts existed together they were given in plurality.[71]

The tradition of the procurator as a very senior official still held. That this was so is further demonstrated by the use which Claudius made of his freedmen. Few things have been so much misunderstood as this. That Claudius claimed for, or gave to, his secretaries a certain public position is not in dispute, nor that this represents an encroachment of the imperial household upon the *res publica populi Romani*.[72] But the extent of this encroachment has been much exaggerated and its nature misrepresented. While *a libellis, ab epistulis* and *a rationibus* became recognised positions, *nomina summae curae*,

[69] *AE* 1924 n. 78. 'Procurator Asiae et Aegypti' occurs separately at this period elsewhere (n. 68 above). The charge of the Museum and the High Priesthood commonly went together at this period (Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 363). There is a clear break of office also at *per annos. Ad responsa Graeca* also recurs separately in the career of C. Stertinius Xenophon, Claudius' doctor (*SIG* II³, 804), and combined with other charges in Dionysius' career (below n. 70).

[70] Suidas, *s.v.* Διονύσιος 'Αλεξανδρεὺς ὁ Γλαυκοῦ ὑιὸς γραμματικὸς ὅστις ἀπὸ Νέρωνος συνῆν καὶ τοῖς μέχρι Τραιανοῦ καὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν προέστη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀποκριμάτων. The latter post, held also by Xenophon, n. 69, above, is threefold, and corresponds to the 'epistularumque et legationum simul et anuli curam' held under Julius Caesar by the father of Pompeius Trogus, a Roman knight of provincial origin (Justin 43, 5, 12), and is not to be confused with the *ab epistulis* and *a libellis*. A similar combination is found in the career of L. Julius Vestinus under Hadrian (*CIG* 5900). The *responsa* were the replies of the Princeps not to minor appellants but to the embassies and petitions of the cities and kings of the East (*cf. SIG* II³ 804 n. 3). Dionysius was free born, and may be identified with the Dionysius of Claudius' letter to the Alexandrines: l. 17 (though *not* with the Dionysius son of *Theon*: *ibid.* l. 76).

[71] *Cf.* the appointment by Vitellius in A.D. 69 of Lucilius Bassus to the conjoint command of the fleets of Ravenna and Misenum, directly after his *praefectura alae* (Tac. *Hist.* 2, 100).

[72] Tac. *Ann.* 15, 35. The charge was made against the elder Torquatus Silanus 'inter libertos habere quos ab epistulis et libellis et a rationibus appellaret, nomina summae curae,' and repeated against his nephew (*ibid.* 16, 8) 'tamquam disponeret imperii curas.' This suggests the emancipation of these posts from their domestic connexions as normal positions in the service of *any* aristocratic family. Also the grant of *ornamenta quaestoria* etc. (*Ann.* 11, 38; 12, 53).

whose special standing was not seriously affected by the death of Claudius, no magisterial powers were actually conferred upon them, despite the misleading language of Tacitus in certain passages.[73] Not even the *a rationibus* received any measure of official authority. It was only external dignity which was conferred on the freedmen by the grant of *e.g.*, the *ornamenta quaestoria*. Nor did Claudius claim anything for his secretaries at the expense of the Senate. The financial resources which the *a rationibus* handled were the same as those of which Suetonius states in dealing with the *breviarium totius imperii* left by Augustus: 'adiecit et libertorum servorumque nomina a quibus ratio exigi posset.' If Pallas enjoyed any independence it was only a practical independence at the expense of the Princeps himself. Instead of a domestic instrument the *a rationibus*, and to a slighter extent the other secretaries, tended to become public figures, but in a social, not a juridical sense. The limits of their importance were strictly maintained even under Claudius.[74] But all this affected the procuratorial system only indirectly as yet. The growing independence of the secretariats meant that in time they would acquire respectability, and be recognised as posts which a Roman knight, especially a Roman knight of Greek extraction, could hold without loss of *dignitas*. When that time came the secretariats went to swell the volume of the equestrian career. Even as early as A.D. 69 knights were found who were willing to take such service under Vitellius, though this was in the special circumstances of a civil war.[75] But it is absurd to suggest that Claudius gave posts to freedmen which he might have given to knights. Still less is this true of the executive positions held by freedmen, the origin of which seems to belong to the Claudian period,[76] notably the posts of 'procurator aquarum,'[77] 'procurator portus Ostiensis,'[78] 'procurator a muneribus,'[79] 'procurator XX hereditatium,'[80] 'procurator castrensis,'[81] 'procurator bybliothecarum,'[82] 'a patrimonio '[83] and the 'curator de Minucia.'[84] The truth is that these were very small fry, of whom it would have taken three or four to make one equestrian *procurator Augusti*, which title they did not bear, although they were the agents of the Princeps.[85] They

[73] Tac. *Ann.* 13, 14 on the retirement of Pallas is consciously satirical *non absurde*, 'ire Pallantem ut eiuraret,' 'sane pepigerat Pallas ne cuius facti in praeteritum interrogaretur paresque rationes cum republica haberet.' Such terms were properly applicable only to magistrates. Contrast Augustus' behaviour (Suet. 101, 4) quoted in the text.

[74] Tac. *Ann.* 11, 33 shows that normally the limits of freedman authority were respected, 'Narcissus non aliam spem incolumitatis Caesaris adfirmat quam si ius militum *uno illo die* in aliquem libertorum transferret.'

[75] Tac. *Hist.* 1, 58. 'Vitellius ministeria principatus per libertos solita agi in equites Romanos disponit.' *Cf. ILS* 1447 for one of these. That this measure was taken solely because Vitellius was with his army is not a complete explanation, for the implication is that the knights were pleased to hold such posts.

[76] *Cf.* on these new posts, A. Momigliano, *Claudius* 46 (Oxford, 1934).

[77] Frontinus, *De Aquis* 105.

[78] *ILS* 1533.

[79] *Ibid.* 1567, *cf.* 1578, *procurator ad elephantos.*

[80] *Ibid.* 1546.

[81] *Ibid.* 9027, *cf.* 1567.

[82] *Ibid.* 1587.

[83] *Ibid.* 1487, *cf.* below, n. 85.

[84] *Ibid.* 6071.

[85] *Ibid.* 1487 reads 'Ti. Cl. Marcellinus (proc) Aug. a patrimonio.' This directly violates the normal rule of reserving the title of *proc. Aug.* for equestrian officials

were plain freedmen procurators, and most of them were demonstrably the junior personnel that acted under the orders of equestrian or senatorial officials. When Nero gave a special commission to Arruntius Stella to take charge of the imperial games—a commission ranked with Tacitus with the prefectures of the corn supply and of Egypt—it was precisely to the *a muneribus* and the *ad elephantos* that Stella would issue his detailed instructions.[86] Likewise the freedman *procurator bybliothecarum* was the executive of the learned librarians of equestrian rank such as Balbillus, and the special agents of the *vicesima hereditatium* would be under the eye of the equestrian procurator or of the quaestor in each province.[87] Even Frontinus, as late as the reign of Trajan, could insist that the junior staff—with particular reference to the *procurator aquarum*, by then an equestrian official—must be treated as 'manus quaedam et instrumenta.'[88] There is nothing particularly significant about the increased amount of evidence which appears in the Claudian period for the household of the Princeps or the servile personnel of the various branches of the urban and provincial administration.[89] The diverse *officia* existed earlier and were neither more nor less important, only less well testified at that period.[90] It is, however, true that there was a continual tendency for these executive procurators of freedman rank to develop, like the secretaries, into public officials, although their domestic connexions were never entirely forgotten. The balance of these two forces is shown very neatly by the career of Ti. Claudius Bucolas, a freedman of Claudius or Nero, who was successively *praegustator, tricliniarches, procurator a muneribus, procurator aquarum*—under Domitian—and *procurator castrensis*.[91] It was not until the final emancipation of these executive procuratorships from their domestic association with the palace service that the equestrian procuratorial system could absorb them, and so acquire a junior

(Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 381 n. 4; 411 n. 4). Assuming the pre-Vitellian date Marcellinus must be, as is usually believed, a freedman, and the restoration should be not *proc.* but *lib.* (*cf.* n. 75).

[86] Tac. *Ann.* 13, 22. *Cf.* also 11, 35 for an equestrian *procurator ludi* under Claudius.

[87] The quaestor might replace the procurator as overseer in public provinces, though few were without their equestrian procurator by this time. *E.g.* for Achaia even earlier—whence comes the *proc. XX hereditatium* of *ILS* 1546—*cf.* n. 24, above. The *procurator portus Ostiensis* would function beneath the *praefectus annonae*, and the *curator de Minucia* beneath the senatorial *praefecti frumenti dandi*, when such existed. Suetonius (*Claudius* 24, 2) shows that there was nothing tendentious in the abolition of the *quaestor Ostiensis*. The new procurator did not necessarily take over the quaestor's work, but was perhaps more particularly connected with Claudius' new harbour, *portus*. *Cf.* Momigliano (*op. cit.* 51), who, however, tends to an extremer view.

[88] Frontinus, *De Aquis*, Preface 2. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 277.

[89] Nor should the appointment of Felix, the brother of Pallas, be interpreted to mean that Claudius treated Judaea as a domestic affair. Suetonius (*Claudius* 28) 'Felicem quem cohortibus et alis provinciaeque Iudaeae praeposuit,' and (*ibid.* 25, 1) 'libertinos qui se pro equitibus Romanis agerent publicavit,' suggest that Felix had been given the *anuli aurei* together with equestrian status in the fashion of the time, and his servile origin thereby virtually annulled, and that he followed the normal career of a knight, *cf.* A. Stein: *Der römische Ritterstand*, 114.

[90] *Cf. ILS* 1588 for the *a bibliothece*, 9028 for the *castrensis* department, 1514 for the bureau of the *fiscus Gallicus* under Tiberius; *CIL* VI 3962, 4014, and Scribonius Largus 162 for the *patrimonium* and *hereditates* at an early date: *cf.* Hirschfeld (*op. cit.* 40 f.). The *cursus publicus* existed before Claudius, but no officials are known before the Flavian period (Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 193), though *tabellarii* are testified from Tiberius on (*op. cit.* 199 f.).

[91] *ILS* 1567, *cf.* 9504.

grade. Only then did the procuratorial career attain its full complexity, and the system which was finally organised by Hadrian emerge. But there is no sign of such emancipation till the reign of Trajan.[92] At the period under discussion the equestrian system retained a considerable degree of flexibility. The direct appointment of men, whether court favourites or persons of special merit, without intermediate experience direct to the most senior posts was common, and though a hierarchy of office was beginning to emerge it was neither fixed nor rigid.[93] Graecinius Laco held the post of procurator in Gaul after his *praefectura vigilum*.[94] At the same time it is not perhaps accidental that the post *ad responsa Graeca*, in the three known instances, was held early,[95] as also was that of *iuridicus Alexandriae*.[96]

There is also an apparent tendency to pay more attention to professional experience in making appointments. Verginius Capito, Caecina Tuscus, and especially Ti. Julius Alexander—possibly also Balbillus—all had previous experience of Egyptian affairs before holding the prefecture there, while the appointment of the ex-Jew Alexander to the governorship of Judaea was an obvious—if misguided—attempt at an homoeopathic cure.[97] The more important aspect of this tendency, however, is the increasing employment of Greeks with equestrian status in the branches of the procuratorial service to which they were suited. This begins under Claudius.[98] It was a new development, and one which prepared the way for an altogether different attitude towards the oriental provinces. It is, however, to be noted that these Greeks had to enter the procuratorial service, like any other knight, through the army and the military tribunate.[99] The normal procedure is shown most clearly by the *titulus* of C. Julius Spartiaticus: 'proc. Caes. et Augustae, trib. mil., equo publico exornato a divo Claudio.' [100]

So, then, the equestrian administration grew up, if not haphazard, at least piecemeal, under Augustus and Tiberius. Officials widely differing in the duties which they performed and the authority which they wielded came into being as the need arose. There were three main divisions of the equestrian service before the Principate of Claudius, and in the formative period from

[92] *Cf.* below, n. 101.
[93] Above, nn. 35–36.
[94] Above, n. 35.
[95] Above, nn. 69–70.
[96] Caecina Tuscus, iuridicus in 51/2, prefect in A.D. 63, above n. 36. Proculus, above, n. 68.
[97] Also the *iuridicus* Proculus had served in the Egyptian army (above, n. 68).
[98] Xenophon, Alexander, Spartiaticus, Felix and Balbillus—if he really was of Greek extraction—served or commenced their service, under Claudius: above, nn. 63, 68–70, 89. Dionysius probably made his name known at this time, though his preferment came under Nero: above, n. 70. Caecina Tuscus and Nymphidius Sabinus seem to have had Greek blood in them (above, n. 36), but cannot be classed among the Greeks. Why Ponticus, prefect of Egypt in about 66, should be regarded as a freedman (Reinmuth, *op. cit.* 132) is not clear; Tac. *Ann.* 14, 41 mentions a Valerius Ponticus.
[99] For Xenophon's military tribunate *cf. SIG* II³, 804. Also Felix (n. 89, above) and Balbillus (n. 68), who, like Xenophon, was *ad responsa Graeca* after his military tribunate. For Nymphidius Sabinus, *ILS* 1322. Alexander had some military experience, for he was *minister bello* for Corbulo before his prefecture of Egypt (n. 68, above).
[100] *AE* 1927, n. 2.

A.D. 41 to A.D. 69 these three branches were unified and welded into one system. From widely disparate elements there emerged something that is recognisably akin in some respects to the administrative systems of modern states. But only in some respects. Still the procuratorial system bore the traces of its origin, and long remained only in part mechanical and regular. It was created in the traditions of the old Republic as well as in the spirit of the new monarchy, and in its workings can occasionally be discerned the practical effects of that wilfulness and licence which were said by the ancients to be the main attributes of monarchy, but which were at times no less characteristic of the late Republic. This was, however, a delusive appearance. For finally, to controvert the ancient theorists, these traits vanished in the highly developed bureaucracy of the second century. To this end Claudius contributed more, by the establishment of a cursus and of the principles of recruitment and preferment, than any other individual Princeps between Augustus and Hadrian.[101]

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[101] Between Claudius and Hadrian it was Vespasian and Trajan who made the most important individual contributions to the development of the procuratorial system, if the indications of bare epigraphy can be trusted. Briefly, the procuratorial career increased in complexity between A.D. 69 and 117 because of four factors:

i. The gradual accretion of equestrian officials for the supervision of taxation, such as the *procuratores XX hereditatium* and the nationalised *promagistri* and *conductores vectigalium*.

ii. The growing size and number of the imperial estates in the provinces led to the appointment of special *procuratores saltuum* and *regionum*, and also of *procuratores ferrariarum*, of equestrian rank, for their administration.

These two factors came about largely through the financial reforms of Vespasian: *cf.* Rostovtzeff, *Geschichte der Staatspacht in der römische Kaiserzeit*, 381 ff., 432 ff. (*Philologus* S. IX), Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 122 ff. H. Mattingly, *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome*, 76 ff.

iii. The conversion of freedman executive posts into junior equestrian posts. *E.g.*, the 'procurator monetae,' 'procurator aquarum,' and 'procurator loricatae' (the superintendant of the actual *Fiscus*).

iv. The conversion into senior equestrian posts of the secretariats. The *ab epistulis*, *a rationibus* and *a patrimonio* were equestrian by Trajan's time (*ILS* 1448. *AE* 1913, n. 143a).

These four tendencies were assisted by the increasing recruitment of the equestrian order from the eastern provinces and from the descendants of the imperial freedmen (*cf.* above n. 98; also Juvenal VII 14–16 and Stein, *op. cit.* 397 ff.). A large number of minor equestrian posts came into being and gave the service what it lacked under the Julio-Claudians, a junior division for the new men, the future *procuratores sexagenarii*. So the known careers of Trajanic date represent a system not very different in essentials from that which was established by the Hadrianic reorganisation. *Cf.* in general R. H. Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian* (Princeton, 1917). He rather underestimates the forces at work: *cf.* the cumulative effect of *ILS* 1338, 1350, 1352, 1374, 1419, 1435, 1448, 2728, 7193, and *AE* 1913 n. 143a, 1922 n. 19, 1934 n. 2.

ADDENDUM. The clearest account of an equestrian procurator in the Republic (n. 22) is given by Cic. *Pro Quinctio*, 27–29; 61–73.

To the instances of favouritism collected in nn. 36–45 add the appointments in Tac. *Ann.* 13, 22—all are the friends of Agrippina mentioned in 21 as receiving rewards. So Balbillus (n. 68) *was* a courtier.

To the evidence quoted nn. 86–87 add Tac. *Ann.* 13, 1. 'P. Celer eques Romanus et Helius libertus, rei familiari principis in Asia imposti.'

MORS IN VICTORIA

THE relief shown in Plate IA was among those transferred to the Terme Museum from the Villa Ludovisi, where, about 1460, Cassiano Dal Pozzo saw it immured in the wall of a small building to the right of the entrance. Its original provenience is unknown. In his catalogue of the Villa Ludovisi sculpture [1] Schreiber describes it as representing 'a knight with two attendants. . . . On the left a youth walks forward to the l. He wears a sleeved tunic girt at the waist, and shoes; and carries on his right shoulder a short stave which has been broken off where the relief border is damaged. He is represented almost *en face*, and turns his head backwards towards the knight. With his left hand he leads by the bridle a richly harnessed horse saddled with a panther-skin. On the horse rides a young (beardless ?) man in short-sleeved tunic and cloak, the latter falling over his left forearm. He is laureate, and holds the horse's rein in his left hand, while the right is raised to the level of his head. . . . There follows a bearded man wearing tunic and shoes. In his left hand he holds the end of an object slung over his left shoulder (probably a sack . . .), and in his right hand he lifts up a hemispherical helmet [2] (the left cheek-piece broken off), in the act of placing it on the knight's head.'

Paribeni,[3] for a reason discussed below, takes the rider to be an emperor, and suggests that the slab may originally have come from a triumphal monument. There exist, however, other examples of the same subject where the connection with a private citizen is confirmed by inscription.

The most notable of these is the relief of the knight T. Flavius in the Lateran Museum,[4] (Plate II) on which the arrangement of the Terme relief is closely repeated, with the addition of two female figures on the left. Apart from these figures the only variation of importance is that here the knight is not yet crowned, but about to receive a laurel-wreath, instead of a helmet, from the *pedisequus*. The other features of the group remain un-

[1] Schreiber, T., *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, p. 66, no. 36.

[2] The object can only be a helmet, and is taken to be one by Paribeni (*Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 2nd ed., p. 124), as well as Schreiber. But the form is curious.

[3] *Op.* and *loc. cit.*, no. 199.

[4] Lateran Museum no. 977. Benndorf-Schöne, *Die Antiken Bildwerke des Lateranensischen Museums*, p. 381, no. 545. *CIL* XIV, 167. The relief was found in 1856 in the Via delle Tombe at Ostia in front of a two-storeyed tomb. Near it lay an inscribed marble slab from the same tomb (*CIL* XIV, 166). See *Atti dell. Pont. Accad.*, XV, p. lxxxv, and Visconti in *Annali dell'Instituto*, 1857, p. 304.

changed: the forward-stepping, backward-glancing *cursor* with stave, the rider with raised right arm, the richly harnessed horse with panther-skin saddle, and the *pedisequus* carrying a sack over his shoulder. Schreiber cites two further examples of the scene, the originals of both of which appear to be lost. The first, which was at one time in the Giustiniani Gallery, is illustrated by Inghirami [5]; the other is described in the catalogue of the old Museo Kircheriano.[6] Inghirami's drawing (Fig. 1) shows a version in which the crown is held by the *cursor* instead of the *pedisequus*, but otherwise, so far as one can tell from such a reproduction, it follows the Terme and Lateran reliefs fairly

FIG. 1.—ROMAN FUNERAL RELIEF
After Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, VI, pl. B2.

closely. The Kircheriano example appeared on a sarcophagus-lid, to the left of an inscription which gave the name of the dead: Q. Vivius Lucianus, knight. 'The scene', according to Ruggiero, 'represented a young knight holding a crown in his hand. He was preceded by a youth carrying a crown in his right hand and a torch in his left, and followed by another also carrying a torch and an object difficult to distinguish on his shoulder.' Schreiber had no hesitation in identifying this object as a 'full wallet or sack,' and adds that it was slung over the left shoulder. The sarcophagus of a knight, M. Mynius Lollianus, in the Louvre [7] provides an example in which both the attendants

[5] *Monumenti Etruschi*, VI, pl. B2, no. I.

[6] Ruggiero, *Catalogo del Museo Kircheriano*, pt. I, p. 24, no. 91. I have to thank the Regia Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Rome, for information about the loss of this relief.

[7] This relief, so far as I know, is not mentioned in any of the Louvre catalogues. It is in the Gallerie Mollien, and is said on the label to have come from Monticelli.

carry crowns; and finally it is probably right to see in the funeral relief of another knight, M. Aurelius Verianus, in the Conservatori Palace,[8] the same scene curtailed by the omission of the *pedisequus*.

Four out of five of these reliefs are proved by their inscriptions to have commemorated knights, and the representation of a knight on horseback might fairly be said to explain itself. But I think Wilpert [9] is certainly right when he sees in the scene not only an allusion to the status of the dead in this world, but a symbolic representation of the fate of his soul in the next. That a knight's soul should prefer ἱππεὺς κατίεναι is not surprising.

Neither the idea nor the representation of the soul's last journey originated in Rome. Greek funeral art, it is true, preferred to emphasise the leave-taking from this world rather than the journey to the next, but in Etruscan art the journey itself is represented with a great variety of symbolism, and the idea must have had a peculiar fascination for Etruscan eschatological thought. Its survival into Roman times is not surprising, for folklore of this kind lives stubbornly on among the people, undisturbed by the fluctuations of politics and philosophies. More unexpected is the fact that the Roman representation of the idea is so closely foreshadowed on Etruscan monuments that a continuous tradition must be supposed for the iconography of the scene no less than for the belief which inspired it. The Volterran urn [10] shown in Fig. 2 anticipates the whole scheme of the Roman reliefs: the *cursor* with forward step and backward glance leading the horse by the bridle, the slow-stepping horse itself with raised foreleg and, bringing up the rear, the *pedisequus* with a sack over his shoulder. There are, however, two notable differences, not of iconography but of content, in the Etruscan version of the scene. The *cursor* appears in the guise of the sombre psychagogue Charun, and the rider neither wears nor is offered a crown. The scene is closely repeated on other urns, and must have been a commonplace of the Etruscan funeral repertory. There are, too, many variations on the theme. On some,[11] for instance, the attendants (they are here winged Lasas) carry torches, foreshadowing the Kircheriano version; on others [12] they are armed with daggers and instruments of torture which find no place in the Roman versions. But all are clearly derived from a single iconographic type; and equally clearly this same type lies behind the Roman examples.

The Etruscan versions cannot well be later than the end of the second

[8] BSR., *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Conservatori Palace*, pl. 79, Tensa 12.

[9] *I Sarcofagi Cristiani*, text p. 18.

[10] Körte, *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche*; III, LXX 2 = p. 83, fig. 14. Körte cites four similar examples in sculpture and one in painting.

[11] Körte, *op. cit.*, III, LXIX 1, LXX 4, LXXI 5, LXXII 7.

[12] Körte, *op. cit.*, III, LXIX 3, LXXI 6.

century B.C., while the Roman reliefs are probably all to be dated in the first half of the third century after Christ. The intervening gap of some three hundred years is bridged by no surviving monuments; and one can only suppose that during that long period the iconographic tradition was preserved in the popular but perishable art of painting on wood which handed down a repertory of illustrations not only for triumphs, but for funerals and many other occasions as well.[13]

And the same supposition must be made to explain why the composi-

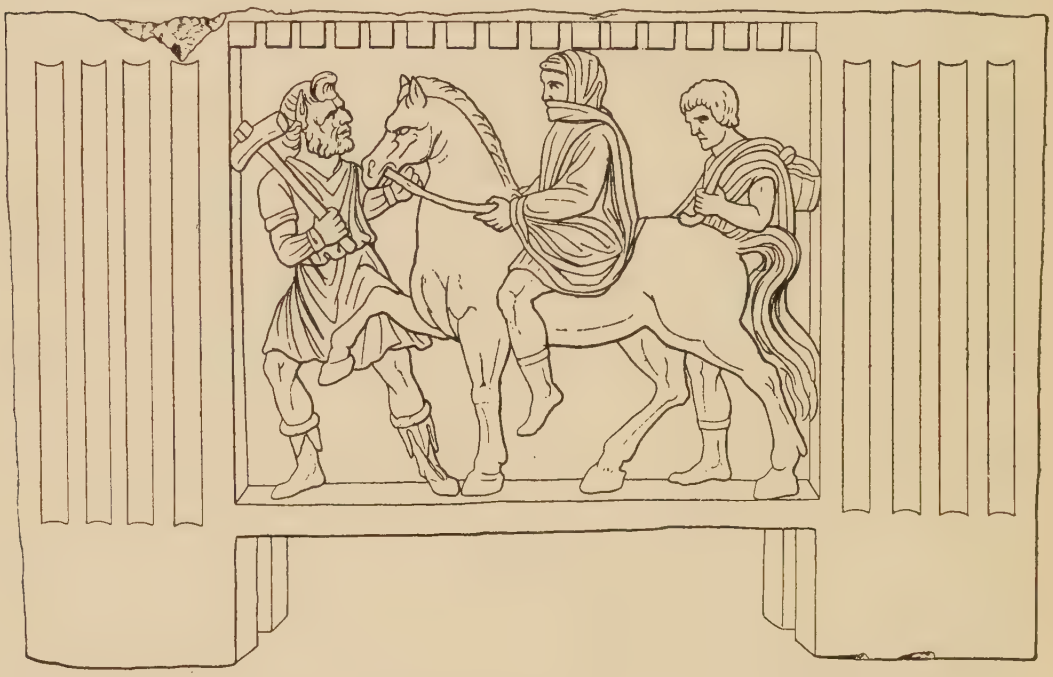

FIG. 2.—VOLTERRAN URN, after Körte, *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche*, III, LXX, 2.

tional scheme of these versions of the last journey is also used for imperial scenes of *Adventus* and *Profectio*. The close relationship of these scenes, as they are represented on coin-types (Plate I, B and C), to the scene on the Terme relief led Paribeni to identify the rider on the latter as an emperor, but its even closer relationship with the Roman versions of the last journey—particularly the Lateran relief—suggests that here, too, it is not an emperor riding in triumph, but a dead knight riding to the underworld. But, emperor or knight, the fact remains that the same compositional scheme is used for a funeral and a

[13] On this lost popular art see Raoul-Rochette, *Peintures antiques inédites*, pp. 298 ff., and Rodenwaldt, 'Eine spätantike Kunstströmung in Rom,' *RM*, 1921–22, vol. 36, 37, pp. 80 ff. An equally long gap occurs in the history of another Etrusco-Roman funeral scene, the last journey by *carpentum*. On this see Wilpert, 'L'Ultimo Viaggio nell' Arte Sepolcrale Romana,' *Rendiconti dell. Pont. Accad.*, III, p. 61.

triumphal scene; and this is most easily explained if the scheme was part of the stock-in-trade of Roman popular art which provided illustration for funeral and triumph indifferently. One would, in fact, expect that, in a traditional and uncreative art of this kind, a scheme invented for one scene should, whenever convenient, be frugally transferred to another, without, however, implying any transference of ideas. The Etruscan prototypes prove that the *cursor*-knight-*pedisequus* arrangement was used to express the eschatological belief symbolised in the last journey long before it was used for *Adventus* and *Profectio* scenes and its adaptation in Roman times to these scenes of triumphal character can have been no more than an unsignificant borrowing. But as soon as the triumphal association of the scene became familiar, a new significance must at once have attached to its continued use as a funeral scene.

And this triumphal element (which was thus in a sense fortuitously introduced into the Roman version of the last journey) we find deliberately reinforced by a modification of the Etruscan prototype which must correspond to a modification of belief. The Etruscan soul, guided on its way by a malevolent Charun, rides as a reluctant victim towards an underworld threatening all the terrors of the Etruscan imagination. It is far from a triumphal progress. The Roman, on the other hand, rides sadly but in state, attended by servants [14] and honoured with the symbols of victory, the crown, the helmet [15] and the saddle of panther-skin.[16] And on the Lateran relief we see that the end of the journey leads the soul into the presence of Proserpine [17]:

δεσποίνας δ'ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας . . . .
νῦν δ'ἱκέτης ἵκω παρ' ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνειαν
ὡς με πρόφρων πέμψῃ ἕδρας ἐς εὐαγέων . . . . .
ὄλβιε καὶ μακάριστε, θεὸς δ'ἔσῃ ἀντὶ βρότοιο.[18]

[14] The *cursor* in the Roman versions may be compared both in type and function to the *Angelus Bonus* who leads Vibia into the garden of the blessed in the fresco of the tomb of Vincentius (Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures*, p. 258, no. 2). He stands between Mercury and Michael.

[15] The symbolism of the helmet is confused. On the Trajanic frieze of the Arch of Constantine (Rodenwaldt, *Kunst der Antike*, p. 602) the emperor appears in battle with head uncovered, while an attendant carries his helmet. From this it seems that the emperor was conceived as being, as it were, *a priori* victorious; and that the helmet is there because it is a symbol of the imperial victory, but is not worn, because the imperial victory does not depend on arms or armour. (On the invincibility of the emperor see Rodenwaldt, 'Der belgrader Kameo,' *JDI* 1922, XXXVII, 26 ff.). Another instance of fighting bareheaded is provided by the Ludovisi battle sarcophagus, but here it is not an emperor, but a private citizen. And it is in virtue of his death (symbolised by the serpent above his head) and apotheosis that he can claim an invulnerability and invincibility which among the living can be properly predicated of the emperor alone.

For the helmet as one of the imperial insignia cf. those coin-types which substitute a helmet for a laurel-wreath on the *sella curulis*, *e.g.* Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coins*, pl. III, 51.

[16] The panther-skin saddle is another attribute with an imperial and funeral connotation (cf. Trajan on the frieze of the Arch of Constantine and the dead hero on the Ludovisi battle sarcophagus).

[17] Visconti (*Annali dell'Instituto*, 1857, p. 304) identifies the seated female figure on the left of the Lateran relief as the Colonia Ostiensis, while Wilpert (*I Sarcofagi Cristiani*, p. 18) takes her to be the knight's mother, Vibussia. But the ideal type of her head, the flowers in her lap and the basket of flowers held by the attendant behind her identify her certainly as Proserpine.

[18] The Compagno tablets. See J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 585–9 and 668–70.

It is this popular expectation of apotheosis after death which transforms the Etruscan version into the Roman and sets heaven in the place of hell at the end of the journey. And apotheosis also obliterates the distinctions which separate the emperor and commoner here on earth. In life the emperor alone is divine and entitled to the divine honours of a triumph, but death confers divinity on every purified soul and initiates a triumph in which commoners and emperors ride as equals. It is because they are 'gods, no longer mortals' that the knights on these reliefs are privileged to receive triumphal honours after death.

Eschatological beliefs of this kind were deeply influenced by the mystery religions, and particularly by Orphism, but their significance was too universal to be confined within the limits of any single body of doctrine. They represent an alteration in the attitude of a whole civilisation to life and death and the new outlook, whatever it owed to the mystery religions, became the distinctive encouragement of Christianity and Pauline mysticism.[19]

D. E. L. Haynes

[19] Cum autem mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est: Absorpta est mors in victoria.

FORMAL ORNAMENT ON LATE ROMAN AND EARLY BYZANTINE SILVER[1]

THE silver plate of the late Roman and early Byzantine period is characterised by formal engraved ornament of an unusual and easily recognisable kind. The motives used in this ornament consisted at first of the quatrefoil diaper, several forms of rosette, strips of tongue pattern, heart-shaped leaves, and groups of leaves variously arranged. In later examples the characteristic motive is a pattern of palmettes, each unit joined to the next by the smallest side leaf, which surrounds a central panel or in one case (no. 6 *infra*) ornaments the body of a round vessel. This last stage has been dealt with by Matzulewitch;[2] but as the examples of this type of plate have never been studied as a whole, they are collected here.

I. Gold. 1. Findspot; Petrossa, Rumania. Round gold dish, diam. 56 cms.; a strip of units of tongue pattern, divided by a zig-zag line.
Formerly in the University Museum, Bucarest, now ? in the Hermitage. Odobesco, *Le Trésor de Petrossa*, i, 89 ff.

II. Silver. 2. Findspot; Ballinrees, near Coleraine, N. Ireland.
a. Fragment of a dish, 8 × 7·5 cms.; quatrefoil diaper, rosette (pl. III, fig. 1).
b. Similar fragment, 1·6 cms.; quatrefoil diaper.
British Museum. Scott Porter, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, II, 1854, 182: Walters, *Catalogue of Silver Plate in the British Museum*, 54–55, nos. 222, 213: Haverfield, *English Historical Review*, XXXVIII, 1913, 1 ff.: Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain Law*, 6, 107: Ridgeway, *Journal of Roman Studies*, XIV, 1924, 123 ff.: Tozzi, *Rivista di Archaeologia Cristiana*, IX, 1932, 309: Mattingly-Pearce, *Antiquity*, 1937, 39 ff.

3. Findspot; Traprain Law, Scotland.
a. Fragment of a vase, h. 10 ins.; leaf pattern.
National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. Curle, *op. cit.*, 21, no. 3, pl. VIII: Drexel, *Germania*, IX, 1925, 123, fig. 3: Peirce-Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, vol. i, 55, pl. 62.
b. Fragment of a basin, diam. 20 ins.; leaf patterns.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 32, no. 19, pl. XV.
c. Dish, diam. 12 ins.; leaf and tongue patterns (pl. III, fig. 2).
Curle, *op. cit.*, 36, no. 30, pls. XVII–XVIII: Drexel, *op. cit.*, 124, fig. 5: Tozzi, *op. cit.*, 309: Peirce-Tyler, *op. cit.*, 55, pl. 60: Henry, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, LXVI, 1936, 215.

[1] For permission to publish the photographs which illustrate this article I wish to thank the authorities of the Museums to which the objects belong.
[2] *Byzantinische Antike*, 118 ff.

d. Fragment of a dish, diam. 11·5 ins.; quatrefoil diaper, leaf patterns.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 39, no. 31, pls. XIX, XXXVII.

e. Fragment of a dish, diam. 17 ins.; quatrefoil diaper, leaf patterns (pl. IV, fig. 3).
Curle, *op. cit.*, 40, no. 32, pl. XIX: Tozzi, *op. cit.*, 309: Peirce-Tyler, *op. cit.*, 55, pl. 61a.

f. Fragment of a square-topped vessel, c. 5·5 ins. sq.; leaf patterns.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 40, no. 34, pls. XXII, XXXVI.

g. Fragment of a vessel; quatrefoil rosette, leaf patterns.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 50, no. 45.

h. Fragment of a square vessel, c. 13·5 ins. sq.; leaf patterns.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 59, no. 86, pl. XXXVIII.

j. Fragment of a square vessel; quatrefoil diaper, leaf patterns.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 60, no. 87.

k. Fragment of a vessel; quatrefoil diaper, leaf and tongue patterns.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 71, no. 107.

l. Fragment of a platter, l. 6·75 ins.; leaf pattern.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 72, no. 108, pls. XXVII, XXXVIII.

m. ? Corner of the mounting for a wooden box, l. 2·25 ins.; quatrefoil diaper, leaf pattern.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 75, no. 110.

n. Fragment of a dish; quatrefoil diaper, leaf pattern.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 82, no. 136.

o. Fragment of a dish; quatrefoil diaper, leaf pattern.
Curle, *op. cit.*, 83, no. 139.

4. Findspot; Mileham, Norfolk. Square dish, 37·5 ins. sq.; leaf and tongue patterns.
British Museum. *Archaeologia*, XXIX, 1842, 389, pl. 42: Fox, *Archaeological Journal*, 1889, 340: Walters, *op. cit.*, 23, no. 87, pl. XIV: Drexel, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

5. Findspot; Esquiline Hill, Rome.

a. Round dish, diam. 22·5 ins.; quatrefoil diaper, heart-shaped leaves, leaf patterns (pl. IV, fig. 4).
British Museum. Visconti, *Lettera*, 1827 edn., pl. XVII: Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 69, no. 310: Pogloyan Neuwall, *Römische Mittheilungen*, XLV, 1930, 133–4, fig. 2: Tozzi, *op. cit.*, 280, 309.

b. Round flat dish, diam. 10 ins.; rosettes and an engraved panel.
Visconti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI: Dalton, *op. cit.*, 70, no. 311: Pogloyan Neuwall, *op. cit.*, 134, fig. 3.

6. Findspot; Church of the SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome. Vessel known as the Reliquary of the Head of Saint Sebastian, h. 19 cms.; row of palmettes.
Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Vaticana. Muñoz, *Studi Romani*, I, 1913, 197 ff.: Liebeaert, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XXXIII, 1913, 479 ff., with earlier bibliography: Riegl-Zimmermann, *Die Spätrömische Kunst-*

industrie, part 2, 1923, 80–1: Matzulewitch, *op. cit.*, 118: Volbach, *Bolletino d'Arte*, Feb. 1937, 344.

7. Findspot; Hill of St. Louis, Carthage. Bowl, diam. 6·6 ins.; 8-foil rosette, cf. no. 2a.
   British Museum. Dalton, *op. cit.*, 79, no. 357.
8. Findspot; Hammersdorf, East Prussia. Fragment of a dish; quatrefoil diaper, palmettes surrounded by a ribbon strip.
   Prussia Museum, Königsberg. Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der Alterthums-*

Map to Show Distribution of late Roman and early Byzantine Silver Objects (for Numbers see Text).

gesellschaft von Preussen, II, 1886, 77, pl. VIII: Willers, *Die Bronzeeimer von Hemmoor*, 174: Drexel, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXVIII, 1909, 192, no. 48: Ebert, *Sitzungsberichte etc.*, XXIV, 1923, 155, no. 8: Drexel, *Germania*, 9, 1925, 125, fig. 8: Matzulewitch, *op. cit.*, 118, fig. 31.

9. Findspot; Alt-Ofen, Budapest. Vase, h. 36 cms., diam. 14 cms.; leaf and tongue patterns (pl. V, figs. 5–6).
   Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Unpublished. Shortly to be published in *Die Bronzegefässe von Pannonien*, by A. Radnoti, in the series *Dissertationes Pannonicae*.

10. Findspot; Polgardi, Hungary. Tripod; heart-shaped leaves, leaf patterns.
Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, Budapest. Pulczky, *Archaeologiai Közlemenyek*, 13, part 2, 1880, 1 ff.

11. Findspot; Moesia.
a. Dish, diam. 32 cms.; rosette with units of leaf pattern (pl. VI, fig. 7).
b. Dish, diam. 43·8 cms.; rosette.
c. Dish, diam. 41 cms.; formal pattern in central medallion, tongue pattern.
Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, Budapest. *Jelentés a Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum*, 1908, 42 ff., figs. 2–8 (in Magyar): Peirce-Tyler, *op. cit.*, 55, pl. 61b.

12. Findspot; Unknown. Dish, diam. c. 15 ins.; medallion with rosette, crossed triangles, heart-shaped leaves.
Prince Paul Museum, Belgrade. Unpublished.

13. Findspot; Botoschany, Rumania. Spoon; palmettes.
? Hermitage. Matzulewitch, *op. cit.*, 118.

14. Findspot; Church of S. Sophia, Sofia. Found during excavations. Square box, h. c. 3 ins.; quatrefoil diaper, leaf patterns (pl. VI, fig. 8).
Archaeological Museum, Sofia. Filow, *L'Eglise de Ste. Sophie à Sofia*, 70–2, pl. VIII, 1–4. Le Blant, *C. R. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, 42, 1896, 291.

15. Findspot; Royal Palace, Athens. Found in the grave of a Priest of Isis. Six-sided box, h. 8 cms.; leaf patterns and engraved panels (pl. VI, fig. 9).
Museum für Antike Kleinkunst, Munich. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, I, 1855, 37: Roeder, s.v. Isis in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopedie*, vol. 9, part 2, col. 2313: Sieveking, *Münchener Jahrbuch*, New Series, IX, 1932, 1 ff.

16. Findspot; Sludka, Govt. of Perm, Russia. Dish, diam. 41 cms.; palmettes, surrounding a central medallion with a scene of a horse.
Hermitage. Matzulewitch, *op. cit.*, 4, no. 5, 115 ff., citing earlier bibliography: Rosenberg, *Die Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 3rd edn., vol. 4, 702–3.

17. Findspot; Kertch, South Russia. Vase; heart-shaped leaves, leaf patterns.
Hermitage. *Archäologische Anzeiger*, 1905, 60, fig. 6.

18. Findspot; Antioch. Box, l. 10 cms.; quatrefoil diaper, rosette.
Aboucassem Collection. Diehl, *Syria*, VII, 1926, 111, no. 23, pl. XXII: Peirce-Tyler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 109, pl. 124*b*.

19. Findspot; unknown. Fragment of a dish, diam. 38 cms.; rosette.
Historical Museum, Moscow. Matzulewitch, *op. cit.*, 117, figs. 29–30.

20. Findspot; unknown. Three dishes; palmettes surrounding a medallion, cf. no. 16 (pl. VII, fig. 10).
Benaki Museum, Athens. *Guide to the Benaki Museum*, 1936, 33.

The ornamental motives on these objects are of two distinct types. In date the groups overlap, but the first is centred in the fourth–fifth centuries, comprising nos. 1–5, 7, 9–12, 14, 15, 17–19; the second, nos. 6, 8,[3] 13, 16, 20, in the sixth century.

[3] Dated by Ebert (*op. cit.*, 170) to the fourth century.

The stamps on the back establish the Byzantine origin of no. 16, an origin which may be extended to the whole of this group.[4] The Hammersdorf dish (no. 8) and the Botoschany spoon (no. 13) may be as early as the end of the 4th century ; the remaining objects belong to the 6th or in the case of nos. 20*a–c* possibly to the 7th century. Four vases in the Nagy-Szent-Miklos treasure [5] illustrate the same motive copied in a different technique; while another barbarian copy, dating from about A.D. 1000, is a dish from Zalesie in Galicia,[6] also in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

The provenance of the first group is not so certain. While most authorities suggest a Western origin, under Alexandrian influence, for the Coleraine, Traprain Law, and Esquiline treasures, Pogloyan Neuwall [7] argues for the Byzantine origin of no. 5*a*; Sieveking [8] regards the engraved ornament on no. 15 as Eastern; while Diehl seems to assume the Syrian origin of no. 18 to need no word of demonstration.

The whole character of the group, with its preference for geometric ornament used alone (the number of pieces on which it is combined with figure ornament is small), speaks against the Eastern theory. Why postulate an imaginary Eastern influence when a simpler explanation, for which positive evidence can be cited, is so much nearer at hand? The objects with a fourth–fifth-century date in group one have an almost exclusively Western distribution; and though it may be objected that the Coleraine and Traprain Law objects are hoards and not treasures, the coin evidence [9] points to Gaul as the place from which they were removed.

The form of no. 9 is one which was common in the Western Empire in the third–fifth centuries. Parallel examples in silver have been found at Chaource [10] and in the Traprain Law treasure [11]; one in bronze is in the Wallraf Richartz Museum in Cologne. Pottery examples, possibly made at Worms, date from the end of the third century onwards [12]; and there are numerous glass parallels dated to the fourth century. Two examples of a slight variant of the form, in silver, have been found at Aquincum [13] and Apahida in Siebenbürgen. [14] The body and handle of the Kertch vase, no. 17,

[4] The silver amphora from Pereščepina (Matzulewitch, *op. cit.*, pl. 29, fig. 24) shews a contemporary and similar version of the motive.

[5] Hampel, *Der Goldfund von Nagy-Szent-Miklos*, figs. 1, 8–9, 12–13.

[6] Arneth, *Die Gold und Silber Monumente*, 81, no. 115, pl. 5, x; Matzulewitch, *op. cit.*, 118; Jakimowicz, *Bulletin Archéologique Polonaise*, XII, 1933, 127 (French Summary).

[7] *Op. cit.*, 133.

[8] *Op. cit.*, 5.

[9] See especially Ridgeway, *op. cit.*

[10] Walters, *op. cit.*, 39, no. 147.

[11] Curle, *op. cit.*, 13, no. 1. See also Matzulewitch, *Une Sépulture d'un Roi Barbare en Europe Orientale*, 119 ff., pls. 1–6.

[12] Wheeler, *Catalogues of the London Museum*, no. 3, 113 ff.

[13] Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters*, II, 44, III, pl. 37: *Archaeologiai Ertesitö*, 1885, 93.

[14] Hampel, *op. cit.*, II, 39–40, III, pls. 32–53: *Archaeologiai Ertesitö*, 1889, 305–20: Odobesco, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 22.

are of this type; but the foot resembles that of a second vase in the same find,[15] an example of unknown provenance in the Altes Museum, Berlin,[16] and an example from Aeclanum in the Cabinet des Medailles, with a Latin inscription round the neck.[17]

The ornamental motives of the first type point even more clearly to a Western origin. Three of the motives—the quatrefoil diaper, the rosette, the tongue pattern—though their origin was Eastern, were too widespread in Roman art for an argument on the provenance of an object to be based on the evidence of their presence alone. The quatrefoil and the rosette were favourite motives on geometric mosaics, and examples in this medium have been found in all parts of the Empire. The tongue pattern was common in various mediums, including metal-work. Of the two remaining patterns classified above, the row of heart-shaped leaves was a motive widespread in Sassanian art from the fourth century onwards.[18] Its origin, however, is Mediterranean, and is rather to be sought in the row of ivy leaves, which was a variant of the more common ivy wreath.[19]

The leaf patterns present a different problem. The origin of the simplest of them, which is the plain wreath, is obvious; parallel examples engraved on metal-work were popular at this period when craftsmen were ornamenting dishes with a central medallion surrounded by a wreath, on a plain ground.[20] The other leaf patterns are of a freer and more flowing type, far removed from the exact formalism of the ornament of Roman mosaic pavements. It is this free character which gives the clue to the origin of this type of ornament as a whole.

Odobesco,[21] after examining the ornament on the gold dish no. 1 *supra*, suggested that it was a barbarian copy of various types of Roman ornament. The suggestion, in this connexion, has been overlooked by the later scholars who have sought an exclusively Mediterranean origin. But comparison with another type of Romano-barbarian metal-work, the group of Kerbschnitt bronzes, suggests that Odobesco's theory has a more general application.

[15] Pharmakowsky, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.

[16] Zahn, *Amtliche Berichte*, XXXVIII, 1917, col. 263 ff.: Peirce-Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, 55, pls. 85, 59.

[17] Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, VI, pl. 460: Odobesco, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 18: Zahn, *op. cit.*

[18] On metal-work, Sarre, *Die Kunst des Alten Persiens*, pls. 116, 118, 127, 131: Orbeli-Trever, *L'Argenterie Sassanide*, pls. 15, 22, 28–9, 32, 39, 45, 64, 69. On textiles, von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, pl. 98.

[19] A pottery fragment of the third century B.C. (Wilpert, *Die Papstgräber*, 67, fig. 56) shows how this took place; the stem of the wreath has been omitted, and only the leaves remain. For examples of the row of leaves, see Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, pls. XCVI, CCCLXXXVIII, CDXIV, CDXXIX: Lane, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1937, 220 ff., pl. VII: Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*, pl. 5. For Roman examples, a mosaic panel in the Museum at Nîmes: a similar motive, explained in the text as a row of rose flowers, is in Wilpert, *Pitture delle Catacombe Romane*, pl. 52 (2). See also Goodyear, *Grammar of the Lotus*, 161–63.

[20] *E.g.* the examples in the Esquiline Treasure; Dalton, *op. cit.*, 71–2.

[21] *Op. cit.*, 217–18.

The Kerbschnitt bronzes [22] have been found in Britain, and on a line stretching along the *Limes* as far as Pannonia, the great majority of them in or near military stations. Examples from findspots outside the Empire are very rare. The motives they display are nearly all of classical origin [23]—S rows, spiral waves, palmette motives, peltae, triskeles and tetraskeles, quatrefoil diapers, rosettes, and tongue patterns (pl. VIII, fig. 11). Their dating is still somewhat vague; Riegl [24] considers them middle rather than late Roman; Behrens [25] would incline to date the group more to the fourth century, and the presence of Kerbschnitt pieces in both the Coleraine and Traprain treasures supports his view.

Supposing Behrens to be right, the silver and the Kerbschnitt groups would be contemporary. In the grave in which no. 15 *supra* was found there was a coin of Constantius II (A.D. 337–61); and no. 17 was found together with coins and two silver disks [26] of the same Emperor. Coin evidence also dates the deposit of the Coleraine and Traprain Law treasures to the earliest years of the fifth century; and the pieces in the Esquiline treasure are contemporary with them. Both groups have the same general character, the use of old motives in a new setting and technique. Further, the technique of the great majority of pieces in the silver group is such that a technical connexion with the Kerbschnitt group may be postulated. The characteristic of the technique of nos. 1, 2*a*–*b*, 3*a*–*o*, 4, 5*a*, 7, 9, 12, 14, 15, 18 *supra* is the use of a gouge. The units of the various patterns have been gouged and then outlined with a lightly used engraving-tool. The resulting effect, especially on the quatrefoil diaper, one of the most common motives on both groups, resembles a very flat Kerbschnitt cut surface.[27]

As early as the third century, craftsmen were ornamenting objects with engraved motives only. These were frequently filled with niello.[28] In the treasure of Chaource there is one fluted dish [29] ornamented with a large six-foil rosette engraved in outline, and with a plain gouged line running along the inside of each of the outlines. Roman silversmiths' work of the later period provides no further examples of this technique. The disk of Theodosius, on which large surfaces are covered with geometric motives, does not display it. But two silver objects of Germanic origin show that it was practised by the

[22] Scheltema, *Altnordische Kunst*, 1923, 163–6: Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, 1927, 291 ff.: Werner, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes*, XXVI, 1930, 53 ff.: Behrens, *Festschrift Karl Schumacher*, 1930, 285 ff.

[23] Riegl, *op. cit.*, 296, fig. 81.

[24] *Ibid.*, 308.

[25] *Op. cit.*, 294.

[26] Pharmakowsky, *op. cit.*, 60: Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, 144–7, pls. 55–6.

[27] *Cf.* Riegl, *op. cit.*, 307, on the last period 'Die Berge sich abflachen,' etc.

[28] *E.g.* Walters, *op. cit.*, nos. 131–3 (Chatuzange), 151, 154–5 (Chaource): Reinach, *Bosphore Cimmerien*, 81, pls. XXX–II (the Rhescuporis dish).

[29] Walters, *op. cit.*, 43, no. 168, pl. XXVIII (as no. 155).

barbarians. A round ornamental disk on a spatha, found in Cologne,[30] has one face covered with a quatrefoil diaper, gouged in this manner, and originally filled with niello; round the side-edge is a row of heart-shaped leaves, also niello-filled. A square plaque from Sackrau,[31] in a find dated to the late third or early fourth century, is ornamented with an identical diaper, gouged and niello-filled. The workmanship on this example is much more careful. These two objects would thus form a technical link between the Roman silver and the Germanic Kerbschnitt groups, and in the absence of contemporary Roman evidence suggest the latter as the source of inspiration for the former: a suggestion borne out by the fact that in both groups there are pieces on which the typical ornament is combined with figure representations on engraved panels, in the one case six examples cited by Behrens (*e.g.* pl. IX, fig. 12), in the other nos. 5*b* and 15 *supra*.

But further than this the evidence does not go. The pieces in this silver group are too scattered and too various in the character and standard of the work for it to be possible to name a centre from which the style might have spread. Nos. 2*a*–*b*, 3*a*–*c*, and 5*a* bear a close and obvious resemblance; no. 11*a* is closely connected with them, and the technical peculiarity of nos. 3*b*–*c*—that the gouged pattern has not been outlined—appears also on no. 4. These pieces are the most striking of the group, and are probably of Italian origin, as is no. 7. The remaining pieces are technically not nearly on the level of the Coleraine, Traprain Law, and Esquiline treasures, and illustrate how the style was adapted by the various provinces; except in the case of no. 17, there is no compelling reason for supposing that they have been imported, in the course of trade or otherwise, from a distant centre, and in each case they are probably local work. No. 15 displays a difference in technique. The leaves are not gouged, but engraved in outline and then gilt. The engraved busts of the Deities of the Week, and especially the fact that here it is the figure ornament, instead of the geometric, which is the important feature, give this piece a different flavour from the others. Sieveking claims it as Greek work; and though he offers no more positive grounds than his own belief in the Greek genius, this difference in character as well as in technique suggests an Eastern origin, which is borne out by a comparison with a dish from Concesti with busts in medallions[32] and the series of mosaic personification busts excavated at Antioch.[33]

[30] Kisa, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, XCIX, 1896, 23, note 2: Lindenschmidt, *Alterthümer unser Heidnischer Vorzeit*, IV, pl. 57: Rosenberg, *Niello zum Jahr 1000*, 36 ff.: Coussin, *Les Armes Romaines*, 292, fig. 183.

[31] Grempler, *Der Zweite und Dritte Fund aus Sackrau*, p. 12, pl. VII, no. 8: Lindenschmidt, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 57 (text).

[32] Matzulewitch, *op. cit.*, 136.

[33] Antioch on the Orontes, II, *Catalogue of Mosaics*.

The technical connexion with the Kerbschnitt bronzes to which the evidence points suggests that the origin of this type of formal ornament is to be sought in the contact of Germanic and Roman elements. The distribution of the examples of the first group coincides in general with that of the bronzes; the later examples of this group (nos. 14,[34] 18,[35] 19 [36]) are Eastern. The connection between the groups is best seen in no. 8 which has the characteristic ornament of both; and it is clear that the palmettes of the second are a Byzantine development of the type of four-foil rosette, which appears on the first Coleraine fragment, the Antioch box, and the Moscow dish, which all belong to the first.

G. L. Brett

Postscript.

The excavation and publication of the Sutton Hoo barrow have taken place since this article was in proof. The process I have tried to trace here is another example of the change in the technique of Late Roman silver pointed out by Dr. Kitzinger (*Antiquity*, 1940, 43–4) [37] in connexion with the 'Anastasius' dish from Sutton Hoo, a change which was in both cases (*ibid.*, 46–7) the result of the contact of Germanic and Roman elements mentioned above. The set of small silver bowls from Sutton Hoo is specially interesting, as their main decorative motive is the quatrefoil, one of the most common motives of group one *supra*. Dr. Kitzinger implies (*ibid.*, 53) that the quatrefoils on the two bowls with six-pointed stars belong to a series in which the earlier examples were embossed. As against this I would suggest that the technique of the other bowls points to the theory that the whole set is in the line of development of the Romano-Germanic examples of the pattern and their Kerbschnitt prototypes—that here, in fact, we see a new stage in the interplay of barbarian and Roman elements; the type of ornament developed by the contact of German and Roman is seen at Sutton Hoo and at Nagy-Szent-Miklos in the hands of other tribes who cannot have been German, and developed the original quatrefoil into something at first sight quite different.

[34] Filow, *op. cit.*, 72, n. 1 'approximately 6th century.'
[35] See de Vogué, *La Syrie Centrale*, 1865, esp. pls. 42, 46, 62, 76: Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, art. 'Chrisme.'
[36] On the back of which are stamps dated by Matzulewitch to the second half of the sixth century.
[37] See also *British Museum Quarterly*, xiii, 118–26.

GILDAS: SOME TEXTUAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

1. De Paenitentia.

The *Preface to the Penitential* of Gildas has hitherto been found in only one MS., preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (= Lat. 3182). This MS. is a large parchment codex of the tenth–eleventh centuries, containing a collection of canons, decretals, penitential fragments, etc. taken from many sources, *e.g.* the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis, the Lex Salica, etc.[1] After an extract on pp. 279–80 headed 'Item synodus sapientia sic de decimis disputant', the Gildasian preface follows on p. 280 with 'Incipit prefacio Gildae de poenitentia', concluding on p. 281 with 'huc usque Gildas incipit nunc sinodus aquilonalis Britanniae'. Most editions of this penitential are reprints of F. Wasserschleben's text.[2] Based on a collation by Dr. Knust, it is defective from the standpoint of readings and palaeographical information.[3]

The following collation has utilised, apparently for the first time, a newly-discovered MS. of the penitential, now in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Cambrai (= No. 625, ff. 52–53).[4] If the catalogue date, viz. saec. ix, is correct, then this MS. is earlier than Paris Lat. 3182.[5]

[1] For the British extracts, *vide* F. W. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851), pp. 6 ff. For the contents of the MS., *vide* F. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, etc. (Gratz, 1870), pp. 784–6. It is a difficult MS. to date: *vide* J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (N. York, 1938), p. 62 (with a facsimile). It may have come from Fécamp, Normandy, and shows traces of an Insular exemplar. Regarding the Coll. Can. Hibernensis, Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung* (ed. 2, Leipzig, 1885), pp. xxvi–xxvii, held that the MS. Vallicelli, Tom. XVIII (*not* A. XVIII), represents an insular enlargement of the (Frankish) original, embodying extracts from Patrick, Gildas and Irish synods. For treatment and bibliography, *vide* McNeill, *op. cit.* p. 139. I have collated this extract from the actual manuscript.

[2] Wasserschleben, *op. cit.* pp. 105–8. E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.* IV (1717), 7–8, printed it from the Paris MS., but with variations. Wasserschleben's (Knust's) text has been reprinted by H. Bradshaw in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, I (1869), pp. 113–5; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*, (Mainz, 1883), pp. 495 ff.; T. Mommsen, *Mon. Ger. Hist., Auct. Ant.*, Tom. XIII, *Chron. Min.*, III (Berlin, 1898), pp. 89–90; H. Williams, Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 3 (London, 1901), part 2, pp. 276 ff. English translations are given by Williams and by McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–8 (without the text).

[3] The collations in Wasserschleben's works (*vide* note 1) are not complete. This, together with the paucity of reliable information about the dates and textual character of the MSS., demands that they be used with great caution for purposes of comparison.

[4] It is a parchment MS. of 80 folios, with double columns of fine minuscule script, originally belonging to the Cathedral at Cambrai. Like Paris Lat. 3182, with which it must be compared, it contains the canons of sixth-century Welsh synods and extracts from a book of David. I am grateful to Mr. B. M. Peebles, Fordham University, for drawing my attention to McNeill, *op. cit.* p. 434, n. 1, where the MS. is signalised. The collation has been made from photostats kindly supplied me through the courtesy of the Keeper of the MSS., Mons. P. Plantain.

[5] *Vide Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, Tome XVII (Paris, 1891), p. 243. Professor E. K. Rand, Harvard University, whom I must thank for very helpful advice, would subscribe to this date from a cursory examination of a photostat.

The Text.

Incipit Praefatio Gildae de Poenitentia.

(i) Presbiter aut diaconus faciens fornicationem naturalem sive sodomitam prelato ante monachi voto III annis poeniteat; veniam omni hora roget, superpositionem faciet in unaquaque ebdomada exceptis L diebus post passionem; pane sine mensura et ferculo aliquatenus butiro inpinguato die dominico, ceteris vero diebus paxmati panis mensura et miso parvum inpinguato, horti holeribus, ovis paucis, britannico formello utatur, himina romana lactis pro fragilitate corporis istius aevi, tenuclae vero vel balthutae lactis sextario romano sitis gratia et aquae talimpulo, si operarius est. Lectum non multo feno instructum habeat; per III XL mas superaddat aliquid, prout virtus eius admiserit. Semper ex intimo corde defleat culpam suam, oboedientiam pre omnibus libentissime excipiat, post annum et dimedium eucharistiam sumat et ad pacem veniat, psalmos cum fratribus canat, ne poenitus anima tanto tempore caelestis medicinae intereat.

(ii) Si quis inferiore gradu positus monachus, III annis poeniteat, sed mensura gravetur panis. Si operarius, sextarium de lacte romanum et alium de tenucla et aquam quantum sufficiat pro sitis ardore sumat.

(iii) Si vero sine monachi voto presbiter aut diaconus peccaverit, sicut monachus sine gradu sic poeniteat.

(iv) Si autem peccatum voluerit monachus facere, anno et dimedio; habet tamen abas huius rei moderandae facultatem, si oboedientia eius placita fuerit Deo et abati suo.

(v) Antiqui patres XII presbitero et VII diacono poenitentiae statuere.

(vi) Monachus furatus vestem vel aliquam rem II annis ut supra poeniteat, si iunior est; si senior, anno integro. Si vero monachus non fuerit, aeque anno et maxime III XLsimis.

(vii) Si monachus exundante ventre evomerit sacrificium in die, cenam suam non presumat, et si non infirmitatis causa VII superpositionibus,

The sigla are:—P (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 3182), C (Cambrai, Bibl. Munic. MS. No. 625), M (Martène and Durand), EDD. (editions of Wasserschleben, etc.). Most of the sections are indicated in the MSS. by capital letters. P is followed mostly.

L. 1 Sodomittam C. L. 2 prolato M. monachii C. iii (as usual) C. L. 3 superpossessionem C. faciat EDD. L = t C. L. 4 butero (-ro) C. inpingato P. L. 5 paximati M. misso C, misoclo M. paruum C, paruum P. L. 6 himana C. L. 7 tenuclae . . balthute C. L. 8 et aquae tal.) etque talim populo C. L. 9 lecturum (-ū) C. tres quadragesimas EDD. L. 11 pre) CP (= prae). L. 12 eucaritiam C[a], euch. C[b], eucharitiam P. et)om. C. L. 13 penitus C. caelistis EDD. L. 14 imferiore C. possitus P. manachus P[a]. L. 17 uotu CP. L. 18 monacus P. L. 19 dimedium C. L. 20 facuntatem P. L. 22 Aantiqui C. statuerunt EDD. L. 24 est)sit EDD. L. 25 eque CP. maxme C. in XLmis M. L. 26 monacus P. exun (partly erased) exunda[u]te C. L. 27 superpossit. P.

si infirmitatis et non voracitatis causa IIII superpositionibus deleat culpam.

(viii) Si autem non sacrificium, diei superpositione et multa increpatione plectatur.

(ix) Si casu negligens quis sacrificium aliquod perdat, per III XLmas peniteat, relinquens illud feris et alitibus devorandum.

(x) Si quis autem ebrietatis causa psallere non potest stupens elinguis, cena privatur.

(xi) Peccans cum pecode, anno; si ipse solus, III XLmas diluat culpam.

(xii) Qui communicaverit a suo abate excommunicato, XL.

(xiii) Manducans morticinam inscius, XL.

(xiv) Sciendum est tamen quod quanto quis tempore moratur in peccatis, tanto ei augenda poenitentia est.

(xv) Si cui inponitur opus aliquod et contemptus gratia illud non fecerit, cena careat; si vero oblivione, demedium cotidiani victus.

(xvi) Si autem sumat alterius opus, illud notum faciat abati cum verecundia, excepto eo nullo audiente et sic peragat, si iubetur.

(xvii) Nam qui iram corde multo tempore retinet, in morte est; si autem confitetur peccatum, XL ieiunet, et si ultra in peccato persistat, II XL, et si idem fecerit, abscidatur a corpore sicut membrum putredum, quia furor homicidium nutrit.

(xviii) Offensus quis ab aliquo debet hoc indicare abati, non tamen accusantis, sed medentis affectu, et abas decernat.

(xix) Qui non occurrit ad consummationem, canat VIII in ordine psalmos; si excitatus veniat post misam, quicquid cantaverunt replicet ex ordine fratres. Si vero ad secundam venerit, cena careat.

(xx) Si quis errans commotaverit aliquid de verbis sacris ubi periculum adnotatur, triduanum aut III superpositiones faciat.

(xxi) Si sacrum terra tenus negligendo ceciderit, cena careat.

(xxii) Qui voluntate obsceno liquore maculatus fuerit dormiendo, si cervisa et carne habundat cenubium, III noctis horis stando vigilet, si sane virtutis est. Si vero pauperem victum habet, XXVIII aut XXX psalmos canet stando suplex, aut opere extraordinario pendat.

(xxiii) Pro bonis regibus sacra debemus offerre, pro malis nequaquam.

L. 1 causa)om. C^aP^a, inserted above C^bP^b (with .t. before). superpossit. P. L. 3 die superpositionem C. superposs. P. L. 5 neglegens CP. L. 6 peniteat)om. C^aP^a, inserted above XLmas C^bP^b. L. 7 etlinguis C, e linguis Wass. L. 9 peco*e P^a. si ipse) si se (partly erased) ipse C. L. 10 cummunic. P. excōmunicato C. L. 12 quanto)qnd C, qnđo P. peccato M. L. 15 demedium) CP. L. 16 illiud C. L. 17 iubentur C. L. 22 debit Wass. iudicare C, *indicare P^a. L. 23 accuss. P^b. sed)sunt C. afectu C. L. 24 occurrerit M. L. 25 missam C. L. 26 venerit) ue(sic, end of line) C. L. 27 verbis) urbis CP. L. 29 neglegendo CP. L. 30 qui)quid P. L. 31 cenubium est CP. L. 32 canet) CP, canat EDD. L. 33 aut)cum M.

(xxiv) Presbiteri vero pro suis episcopis non prohibentur offerre.

(xxv) Qui arguitur pro aliquo delicto et quasi inconsultans refrenatur, cena careat.

(xxvi) Qui sarculum perfrangit et ante fracturam non habuit, aut illud extraordinario opere restituat aut superponat.

(xxvii) Qui viderit aliquem ex fratribus abatis transgredi precepta, debet abatem non celare, sed ante admoneat peccantem, ut solus quod male agit confiteatur abati, non tam dilator quam veritatis regulae exsecutor inveniatur.

Huc usque Gildas.

Contractions.

The more important are :

aliquid = aliq̇d P; aliquod = aliqđ P, aliqꝙ C; autem = aut̄; deo = dō C; est = ·ɛ̄· P, ē C; episcopis = epīs; fratres = frs̄; mensura = m̄sura C; nequaquam = nequaq̄ P; non = n̄; omnibus = om̄ib; P, omnib; C; opus = op̓ C; per- = ꝑ-; pre-(prae-) = p̄; presbiter = prb̄r C, prb̄i(gen.) P; priuatur = p̓uatur C; pro = ꝓ C; quando = qnd̄o P, qnd̄ C (both = quanto); quasi = q̄si P; quia = qꝫ C; quod = qđ; secundam = scd̄am P; sicut = sic̄ C; super = supꝑ; tamen = tam̄ P, tam̄ (once = tn̄) C; ter = t̄ C; -tur = t̓; uel = ł C; uero = ů C.

Orthography.

P accussantis P^{b}, caelestis, cęna, cęnubium, cummunicauerit, dilator, dimedium (and -io) and demedium (once), eui, inpingato (once), misam ('mass'), monacus (twice, once = manacus, P^{a}), neglegens, oboedientia, poeniteat (pen- P^{b}, once), poenitus, possitus, praesbiter (once), putredum, summat and sumat (once), superpossitionibus, suplex.

C afectu, cęteris, deluat, dilator, dimedium and demedium (once), eui, imferiore, misso, neglegens, obedientia, oleribus C^{a}, penitentia (mostly) and poen-, prespy̓ter (once), putredum, Sodomittam, summat, suplex.

e, with or without the cedilla (= ae, etc.), occurs in both.

General Note.

The script of C is a fine Carolingian minuscule, with the uncial forms of n and diappearing here and there. The open form of *a* also occurs a few times,

L. 1 suis)om. M. L. 6 fratibus C. L. 7 quod)pro(d = ? for ꝫ) C. L. 8 dilator) CP, delator EDD.

once like a double *c*. For *miso* in section (i) McNeill, following M, reads *misoclo* (= 'a *dish* enriched with a little fat': cf. Du Cange, *missūs* and *misoclus*. Williams = 'broth'). Perhaps the MSS. represent an original corruption like 'miso oclo paruum' (vid. app. crit.). McNeill, following Wasserschleben, reads *e linguis* for *elinguis* in sect. (x), translating 'being benumbed in his organs of speech' (vid. op. cit., p. 176 n. 22. Williams = 'without speech'); but cf. Thes. Ling. Latinae Vol. V *elinguis*.

2. De Excidio Britanniae: Mommsen's H.[6]

Mommsen (*Mon. Ger. Hist., Auct. Ant. Tom.* xiii, *Chr. Min.* iii, 1894–8, pp. 20–1) describes the work indicated by the letter H as follows: 'Heidelbergensis bibliothecae publicae exemplari editionis Iosselinianae quas manus aequalis adscripsit, maxime in parte priore nec multis locis, varias lectiones, earum partem certe proficisci ex libro scripto dubitari non potest: adsunt orthographica . . . et aperte corrupta . . . ipse codex is, quem adnotator adhibuit, videtur periisse; sed adnotata tam prope accedunt ad codicem D, ut conicere possis eum non ipsum descriptum esse ex Cottoniano, sed archetypum eius et ex eo archetypo pendere adnotatorem Heidelbergensem. . . .' Seven readings from his apparatus criticus are then given to illustrate his point.

This copy of Josseline's edition of 1568 is now in the University Library at Heidelberg (B. 7751. 4). It contains upwards of sixty-five marginal readings and alterations in the text, chiefly in the first twenty pages (*i.e.*, Ch. 1–24). Some of these are obvious corrections and need postulate no manuscript authority, being found in other volumes of the same edition (*e.g.*, p. 13*r*, Ch. 14 gemitque). An analysis of the rest reveals that H agrees some seven times with P (*e.g.*, Ch. 1 mihimet aio tibine miser) HP, (m. aione miser) tibi Q; Ch. 17 patrum) ACDXQ, matrum HP.); seven times with X (*e.g.*, Ch. 1 alii enim atque cum) XH, alii uero c. A, alii enim cum P, alii c. Q; Ch. 3 molitionibus) HX, munitionibus APQ.); perhaps once with C alone (Ch. 43 effatur) C(?)H, affatur DQ); four times with A (Ch. 1 omittenda), PQ, omitti AH; Ch. 1 inolitorum) AH, inolidorum PQ; Ch. 3 serratarum) QX, serat. AH, om. P; Ch. 43 incurvabit (-avit D)) DQ, incurvabitur AH (a biblical quot.)); and twenty times with D or its marginal readings, generally introduced by 'alii . . .' Three of the nineteen variants unaccounted for are merely orthographical, two are the result of alterations influenced by DP, and one is an addition from the Vulgate. The remainder are:—

[6] The other sigla used by Mommsen and in the above note are: A (Avranches, Public Library, No. 162. twelfth century); C (British Museum, Cotton Vitellius A VI.; ?eleventh century); D (Cambridge, Univ. Lib., Dd. I. 17. fourteenth century); X (Cambridge, *ib.* Ff. I. 27, 1. thirteenth century); P (Editio Princeps of Polydore Vergil, London, 1525); Q (Edition of Ioannes Iosselinus, London, 1568). I have used my own collation of these.

1. Ch. 1 sexcentorum milium) Q, sexcent. trium milium A, 303 millium H, omnem ad unum P.
2. *ib.* intensa) PQ, inconcussa A, incusa (? mensa) H.
3. *ib.* ob peccata) PQ, super peccatis A, peccatis H.
4. *ib.* eosdem) PQ, eodem H.
5. *ib.* contra hunc) PQ, c. hos H.
6. *ib.* interrupte) APQ, indirupte H.
7. *ib.* serves . . . taceas) PQ, An seruas tacens d.t.c.A, seruans H.
8. Ch. 5. primam Parth. pacem Ind. confinium) primā P. Ind. c. pace (sic) H, prima p. pace ind. con. DQ, prima partorum pace indorumque conf. X, prima P.I. conf. parta pace P.
9. Ch. 11. diu) AXPQ, đ n̄ī (? domini) H.
10. Ch. 19. tithicam) X, aticam D^1, titicam (marg.) D^2, sciticam H, styticam PQ.
11. Ch. 19. inhabilis ad fugam) X Geoff., om. D^1, inhab. ad pugnam (marg.) D^2Q, inhab. ac. P, inhab. ad pugnandum H.
12. Ch. 21. rapacibus) H, capacibus ADXPQ.
13. Ch. 42 ab omni natione) CDQ, abhominationi H.

Now, none of these variants is such as to warrant the existence of independent MS. authority. Seven of the thirteen occur in Ch. 1, the greater part of which depends only on Q: nos. 5, 6, 7 represent the writer's drastic attempt to simplify the passage; 'scythicam' is found elsewhere (cf. *Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodoxographa*, vol. 2 (J. J. Grynaeus, 1569), p. 835); no. 8 is manifestly a remoulding based on P—in a word, this group of variants merely represents the critical judgment of an early emender supplemented by a knowledge of early editions.[7] The same may also be said of the trivial similarities with A and C: 'affor' is not found elsewhere in the De Excidio, 'effor' occurs twice again (Ch. 41, 54); and the variants of both A and H from CQ are in the direction of a simpler, more intelligible, and, in the Biblical quotations, more orthodox text.

With the group PXD it is quite different. It is quite clear that the writer drew frequently upon Polydore Vergil's edition (the fly-leaf, = p. 100*r–v*, actually quotes him) and the text of X, the latter quite possibly through Gale's edition.[8] These are his main sources for Ch. 1–3. For Ch. 4–24 H resembles D in such important details that we must postulate MS. authority for the

[7] For a parallel cf. Grynaeus *ib.* p. 832; T. Gale, *Historiae Britannicae. . . . Scriptores* xv (Oxford 1691), p. 11 (Ch. 32, exitialibus for specialibus). The eclectic character of the variants is illustrated by the absence of any reference to Ch. 6 ut aiebant) AEP, ut agebant, DQ, ut aiunt X.

[8] Cf. note 7. Palaeographically H cannot be restricted to the sixteenth century (cf. Mommsen, 'manus aequalis' above).

'Miltonic' Marginalia.	Josseline's Marginalia.
4 P. 117. l. 45: i. terra vel humo.	P. 14a: Sablone, i. terra vel humo.
5 P. 118. l. 6: (G)alfridus habet (s)temmata: Polyd: (s)igna.	P. 15a: Galfridus pro stigmata habet stemmata, Polydorus ex coniectura mutans habet signa.
6 P. 118. l. 19: (C)uruca i. Nauis. sic (i)n vet: M.S. de Interp: verborum explicatum.	P. 15b: curuca. i. nauis, sic in vetustissimis manuscriptis libris de interpretationibus verborum . . . explicatum.
11 P. 120. l. 50: Anno Christi 493. Bed. ca: 16.li: 1.	P. 23a: Adventus Saxonum in Britanniam annus quadragesimus quartus, ut Beda indicat cap. 16 lib. 1 fuit annus Christi 493.
13 P. 123. l. 7: palata. admissa. i. aperta delicta.	P. 29b: palata admissa. id est. aperta delicta.

The article by Mr. French opens by assuming, without any reservation, that 'one further book from Milton's library has very recently been discovered', and then proceeds to describe 'its precious cargo of notes' and 'Miltonic comments' (*ibid.*, pp. 75, 78). Later it is asserted that the notes 'in several ways . . . show the influence of the English translation of Gildas which appeared in that year' (*i.e.*, 1638: *ibid.*, p. 79) [2] and illustrates 'Milton's habitual sifting of the truth of the printed statement [3] . . . his activity as a lexicographer . . . his keen relish for minute shades of meaning and for the flavors of unusual words' (*ibid.*, p. 80). It concludes with the sentence (*ibid.*, p. 80): 'In a very minor fashion, these marginalia in the Gildas volume are chips from the same workshop that fashioned the satirical invectives against Salmasius and the heavenly discourses of Raphael.' In the light of the analysis of the marginalia already given, no detailed comment is necessary on these deductions.

Two points, however, remain to be examined. 'The handwriting', says Mr. French on page 76, 'is most convincing . . . I see no reason to doubt that the writer of the annotations in the Pindar, the Euripides, the Lycophron, and the Bible in the British Museum, to say nothing of the Cambridge Manuscript and the Commonplace Book, was one with the writer of these marginalia.' Here opinions must greatly differ. The script of most of the works mentioned which is accessible for comparison in facsimiles shows a preponderance of cursive forms very unlike the rather set minuscules of the notes under consideration.[4] A close comparison of the letters reveals

[2] English translation, 'printed by T. Cotes for W. Cooke' on the title-page, with a portrait (!) by Marshall: London 1638. The translator follows the text of Polydore Vergil in many places; hence some of the translations quoted by Mr. French are defective.

[3] It may be remarked that many of Josseline's marginalia are omitted entirely by 'Milton'.

[4] Cf. for Milton, 'John Milton 1608–1674: Facsimiles of Autographs and Documents in the British Museum' (Brit. Mus. 1908); S. L. Sotheby, *Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*, London 1861; and especially W. W. Greg, *English Literary Autographs*, 3 parts, Oxford 1925–1932 (in a description of nos. LII–LIII in part 2 it is stated that some of the 'numerous marginalia'—genuine, according to Sotheby, who is 'rather uncritical'—are doubtful). The Pindar notes (Harvard Univ. Lib., Sum. 123) have the same general appearance as the Gildasian marginalia, but the individual letters show many divergences. The J-form of I occurs only once in our notes (Cf. an article in *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIX no. 3, Feb. 1922, by E. K. Rand, on 'J and I in Milton's Latin Script'). For a general study, cf. S. A. Tannenbaum, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance*, New York, 1930 (containing an excellent bibliography)

as many differences as similarities. Nor are our 'Miltonic' marginalia of a clear-cut distinctive type, for manuscripts utilised from the sixteenth century onwards often have marginal notes in this style of hand.[5] It would be interesting to know, too, how often Milton used the four diamond-shaped dots as a reference mark in the text to his marginalia, for I have noted only a rough cross in the facsimiles and the Pindar.

The second point is, as Mr. French points out, that a quotation in the *Commonplace Book* (f. 195) is given from page 119 of Gildas—a reference applicable only to Commelinus' volume. This would indicate that Milton used a copy of Commelinus. But supposing he owned such a copy—and the contents of his *Commonplace Book* and *History of Britain* indicate his familiarity with the histories contained in this work—is it likely that he would have chosen certain parts of Gildas only for marginalia? And could not many other historians, earlier and later, have used such a handy compendium? Again, the copyist of marginal note 5 did not even check 'stemmata' with Geoffrey's text in the same volume (p. 39, Bk. VI, Ch. 2, where 'stigmata' is quite plain). Milton's own dating of the Battle of Badon is A.D. 527 (*Hist. Brit.*, Bk. 3: cf. marg. note 2 above). His translation of '(de) curucis' (*vide* marg. note 6) as 'gorroghs' is not so curious as Mr. French would suppose, for 'carroghes' occurs in a similar passage in Holland's *Camden* of 1610—which Milton had read; and 'currok', in the sense of the Irish 'curach', meaning a 'little ship', is found about A.D. 1450.[6] The presumed influence on Milton of the English translation of 1638 is largely discredited by the analysis given earlier; nor must it be forgotten that Milton utilised the historical works of Camden, Buchanan, etc., and that his command of Latin was combined with a remarkable flair for translating it into terse, vigorous English.[7]

All these considerations, together with the absence of Milton's signature —'the page (which presumably it formerly had) containing his signature' being lost (Mr. French, p. 78)—make any definite, not to say probable, ascription to Milton a matter of keen dispute. Convincing proof is as yet lacking. What is certain is that the notes in themselves, as a contribution of 'Milton', are worthless. And we are far from sharing Mr. French's conviction that 'one further book from Milton's library has very recently been discovered'.

W. H. DAVIES.

[5] The distinctive Anglo-Saxon script of 'nest' in marg. note 10 is also found in Josseline's marginalia.

[6] *Vide Oxford English Dictionary* under 'curach'. Cf. Welsh 'corwg' = coracle. Probably 'carroghes' is a misprint for 'curroghes' (*ibid.*). On the question of Milton's sources for the History of Britain, *vide* H. Glicksman in the *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 11, 1920, pp. 105–144 (and the references there given). It is noted that Milton made great use of Gildas, but no full details are given. Milton's extensive use of original authorities is also indicated.

[7] *Vide* preceding note.

'Miltonic' Marginalia.	Josseline's Marginalia.
4 P. 117. l. 45: i. terra vel humo.	P. 14a: Sablone, i. terra vel humo.
5 P. 118. l. 6: (G)alfridus habet (s)temmata: Polyd: (s)igna.	P. 15a: Galfridus pro stigmata habet stemmata, Polydorus ex coniectura mutans habet signa.
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11 P. 120. l. 50: Anno Christi 493. Bed. ca: 16.li: 1.	P. 23a: Adventus Saxonum in Britanniam annus quadragesimus quartus, ut Beda indicat cap. 16 lib. 1 fuit annus Christi 493.
13 P. 123. l. 7: palata. admissa. i. aperta delicta.	P. 29b: palata admissa. id est. aperta delicta.

The article by Mr. French opens by assuming, without any reservation, that 'one further book from Milton's library has very recently been discovered', and then proceeds to describe 'its precious cargo of notes' and 'Miltonic comments' (*ibid.*, pp. 75, 78). Later it is asserted that the notes 'in several ways . . . show the influence of the English translation of Gildas which appeared in that year' (*i.e.*, 1638: *ibid.*, p. 79) [2] and illustrates 'Milton's habitual sifting of the truth of the printed statement [3] . . . his activity as a lexicographer . . . his keen relish for minute shades of meaning and for the flavors of unusual words' (*ibid.*, p. 80). It concludes with the sentence (*ibid.*, p. 80): 'In a very minor fashion, these marginalia in the Gildas volume are chips from the same workshop that fashioned the satirical invectives against Salmasius and the heavenly discourses of Raphael.' In the light of the analysis of the marginalia already given, no detailed comment is necessary on these deductions.

Two points, however, remain to be examined. 'The handwriting', says Mr. French on page 76, 'is most convincing . . . I see no reason to doubt that the writer of the annotations in the Pindar, the Euripides, the Lycophron, and the Bible in the British Museum, to say nothing of the Cambridge Manuscript and the Commonplace Book, was one with the writer of these marginalia.' Here opinions must greatly differ. The script of most of the works mentioned which is accessible for comparison in facsimiles shows a preponderance of cursive forms very unlike the rather set minuscules of the notes under consideration.[4] A close comparison of the letters reveals

[2] English translation, 'printed by T. Cotes for W. Cooke' on the title-page, with a portrait (!) by Marshall: London 1638. The translator follows the text of Polydore Vergil in many places; hence some of the translations quoted by Mr. French are defective.

[3] It may be remarked that many of Josseline's marginalia are omitted entirely by 'Milton'.

[4] Cf. for Milton, 'John Milton 1608–1674: Facsimiles of Autographs and Documents in the British Museum' (Brit. Mus. 1908); S. L. Sotheby, *Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*, London 1861; and especially W. W. Greg, *English Literary Autographs*, 3 parts, Oxford 1925–1932 (in a description of nos. LII–LIII in part 2 it is stated that some of the 'numerous marginalia'—genuine, according to Sotheby, who is 'rather uncritical'—are doubtful). The Pindar notes (Harvard Univ. Lib., Sum. 123) have the same general appearance as the Gildasian marginalia, but the individual letters show many divergences. The J-form of I occurs only once in our notes (Cf. an article in *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIX no. 3, Feb. 1922, by E. K. Rand, on 'J and I in Milton's Latin Script'). For a general study, cf. S. A. Tannenbaum, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance*, New York, 1930 (containing an excellent bibliography)

as many differences as similarities. Nor are our 'Miltonic' marginalia of a clear-cut distinctive type, for manuscripts utilised from the sixteenth century onwards often have marginal notes in this style of hand.[5] It would be interesting to know, too, how often Milton used the four diamond-shaped dots as a reference mark in the text to his marginalia, for I have noted only a rough cross in the facsimiles and the Pindar.

The second point is, as Mr. French points out, that a quotation in the *Commonplace Book* (f. 195) is given from page 119 of Gildas—a reference applicable only to Commelinus' volume. This would indicate that Milton used a copy of Commelinus. But supposing he owned such a copy—and the contents of his *Commonplace Book* and *History of Britain* indicate his familiarity with the histories contained in this work—is it likely that he would have chosen certain parts of Gildas only for marginalia? And could not many other historians, earlier and later, have used such a handy compendium? Again, the copyist of marginal note 5 did not even check 'stemmata' with Geoffrey's text in the same volume (p. 39, Bk. VI, Ch. 2, where 'stigmata' is quite plain). Milton's own dating of the Battle of Badon is A.D. 527 (*Hist. Brit.*, Bk. 3: cf. marg. note 2 above). His translation of '(de) curucis' (*vide* marg. note 6) as 'gorroghs' is not so curious as Mr. French would suppose, for 'carroghes' occurs in a similar passage in Holland's *Camden* of 1610—which Milton had read; and 'currok', in the sense of the Irish 'curach', meaning a 'little ship', is found about A.D. 1450.[6] The presumed influence on Milton of the English translation of 1638 is largely discredited by the analysis given earlier; nor must it be forgotten that Milton utilised the historical works of Camden, Buchanan, etc., and that his command of Latin was combined with a remarkable flair for translating it into terse, vigorous English.[7]

All these considerations, together with the absence of Milton's signature —'the page (which presumably it formerly had) containing his signature' being lost (Mr. French, p. 78)—make any definite, not to say probable, ascription to Milton a matter of keen dispute. Convincing proof is as yet lacking. What is certain is that the notes in themselves, as a contribution of 'Milton', are worthless. And we are far from sharing Mr. French's conviction that 'one further book from Milton's library has very recently been discovered'.

W. H. DAVIES.

[5] The distinctive Anglo-Saxon script of 'nest' in marg. note 10 is also found in Josseline's marginalia.

[6] *Vide Oxford English Dictionary* under 'curach'. Cf. Welsh 'corwg' = coracle. Probably 'carroghes' is a misprint for 'curroghes' (*ibid.*). On the question of Milton's sources for the History of Britain, *vide* H. Glicksman in the *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 11, 1920, pp. 105–144 (and the references there given). It is noted that Milton made great use of Gildas, but no full details are given. Milton's extensive use of original authorities is also indicated.

[7] *Vide* preceding note.

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B. and C.—Adventus and Profectio Augusti on Roman Imperial Coins of Probus and Caracalla

FIG. 1 (NO. 2A).—BALLINREES; FRAGMENT OF A DISH

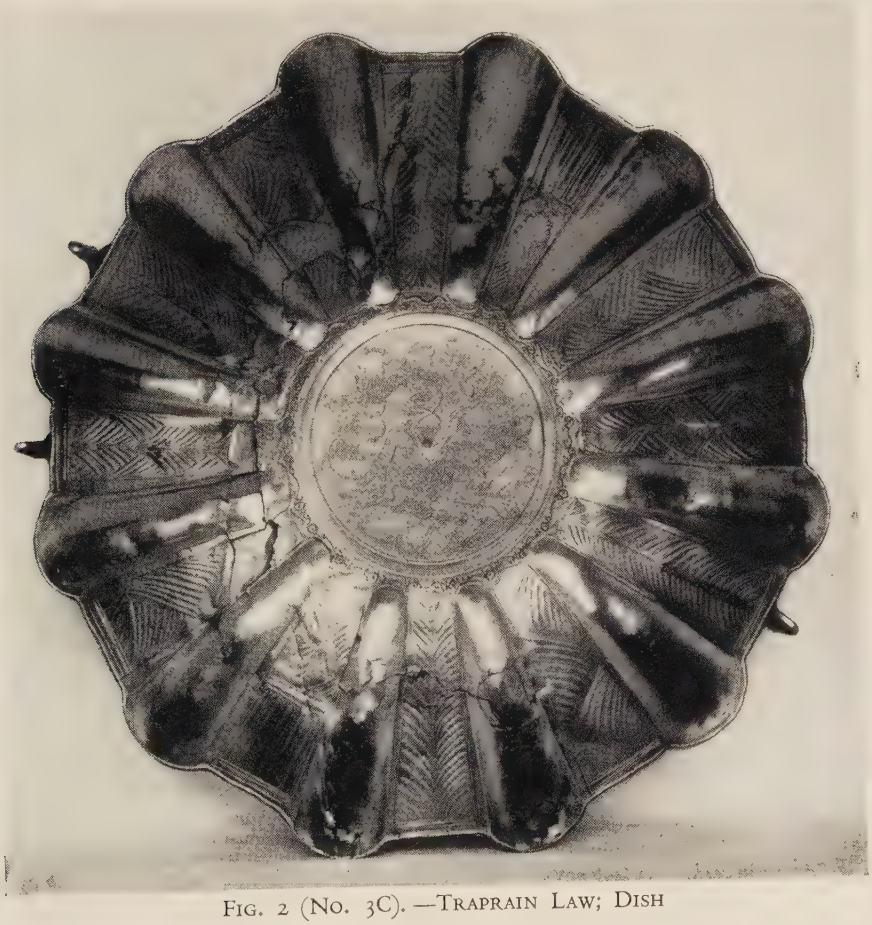

FIG. 2 (NO. 3C). —TRAPRAIN LAW; DISH

Fig. 3 (No. 3E).—Traprain Law; Fragment of a Dish

Fig. 4 (No. 5A).—Rome, Esquiline Hill; Dish

FIG. 5 (NO. 9).—ALT-OFEN; VASE

FIG. 6 (NO. 9).—DETAIL

FIG. 7 (NO. 11A).—MOESIA; DISH

FIG. 8 (NO. 14).—SOFIA, S. SOPHIA; BOX

FIG. 9 (NO. 15).—ATHENS, ROYAL PALACE; BOX

FIG. 10 (NO. 20).—PROVENANCE UNKNOWN; DISH

FIG. 11.—GELLEP; OBJECTS WITH KERBSCHNITT ORNAMENT
Essen; Ruhrland Museum

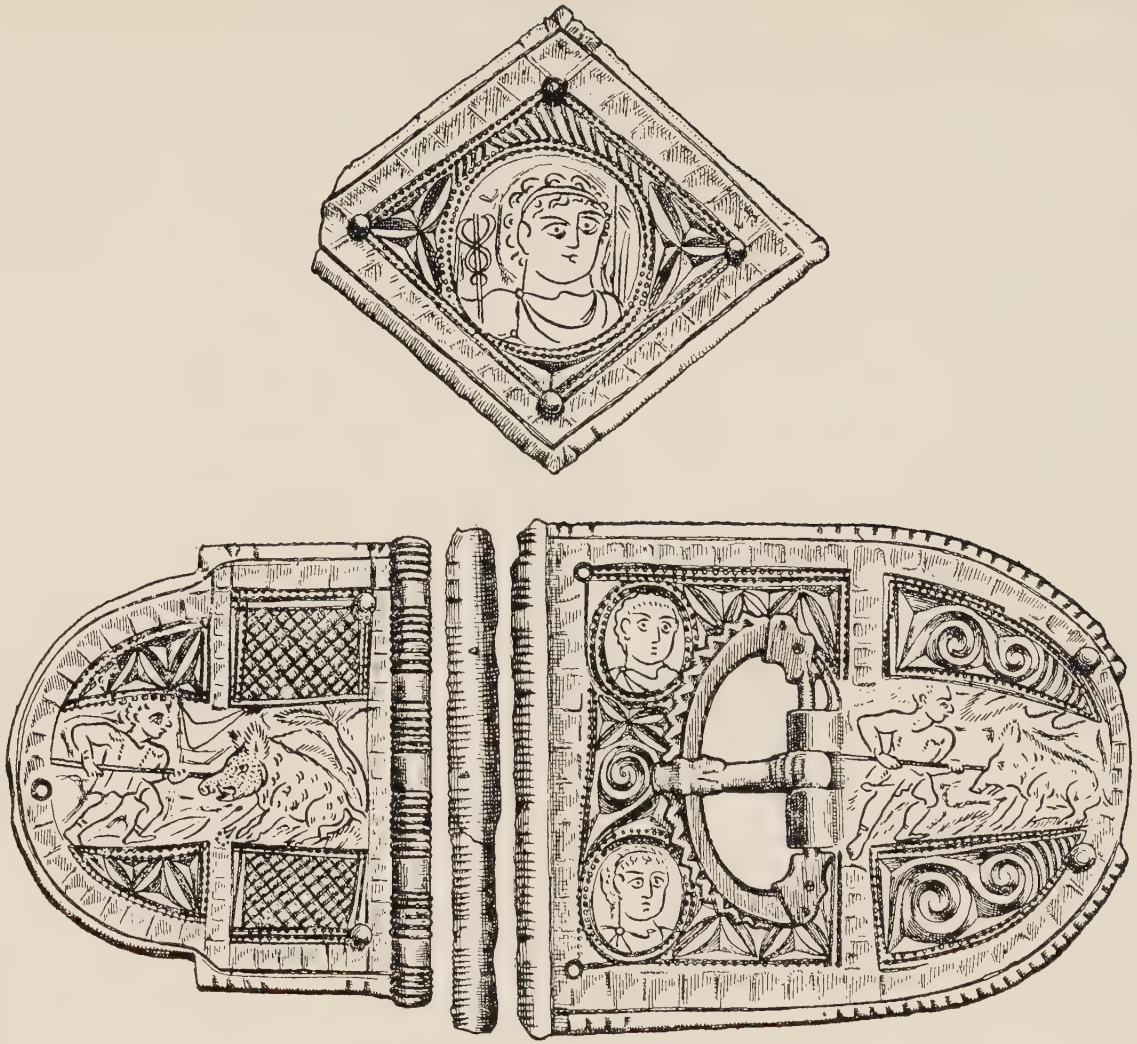

FIG. 12.—DUNAPENTELE; BUCKLE AND PLAQUE WITH KERBSCHNITT ORNAMENT AND ENGRAVED PANELS

Cologne; Wallraf-Richartz Museum

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